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DECEMBER 27, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 24

NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ COVER ESSAY

Secularism and Its Discontents

The reelection of George W. Bush has provoked extensive debate among liberals. For the most part, liberals have fastened on the way moral and religious issues played out in the campaign. Some have suggested that Democrats need to start speaking the language of faith. More have denounced the backwardness of the religious conservatives who supported President Bush. Conceptual clarity has not been a feature of the discussion. *By Ramesh Ponnuru*

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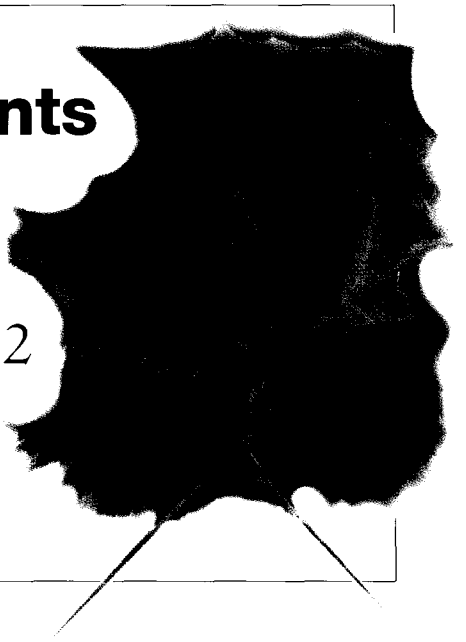

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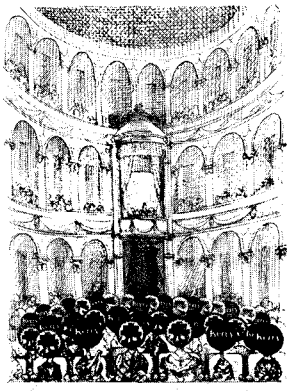
letters to the editor

FOR DOGMA

I'd like to thank Kate O'Beirne for her article on the impact of the Catholic vote in the recent presidential election ("Catholics For Bush," Nov. 29). As a Roman Catholic, I am proud of the tremendous inroads conservative Catholic voters have made toward becoming a majority nationwide among our faith.

Still, it's troubling that more than 14 million Catholics in this country voted for a candidate who supported abortion rights, refused to denounce same-sex marriage, and promoted embryonic stem-cell research, three positions completely at odds with tenets of the Catholic faith. Although Senator Kerry may have been an altar boy—as he was quick to point out to anyone who would listen—his positions, actions, and votes on moral issues have repeatedly been opposed to Catholic doctrine.



The Catholic leadership of this country needs to continue to work with parishioners to educate them about their responsibility to vote for candidates whose views are consistent with Catholic dogma.

Kevin O'Malley
Centreville, Va.

TARGETING TARGET

I recently purchased a camera—a Christmas gift for my bride of 40-some years—at Target. Then, lo and behold, I read "The Week" section of your December 13 issue and learned that Target, among others, has banned the Salvation Army Santa from soliciting for those less fortunate on its premises, a tradition of many years. Last evening I returned the camera to Target; it will be purchased in a store whose practices support this tradition. Additionally, I sent a donation to the Salvation Army for its Christmas program. I will be sure to send a letter to the president of the Target Corporation to keep him apprised.

Thomas J. Kelly
Manchester, N.J.

A REBELLION

In your editorial of November 29 ("Victory") you write, "The election results did not just reflect trends in American opinion; they also reflected a superb job of retail-politicking by the Republicans." I disagree. In my view the election results reflected most of all the truth articulated by novelist Tom Wolfe, quoted elsewhere in the same issue: "I think support for Bush is about not wanting to be led by East Coast pretensions." Over the years I have fumed silently about Eastern arrogance. This election proved that the East Coast elite is completely out of touch with the heartbeat of America.

Howard W. Conner
Melbourne, Fla.

UNBUTTONED

About Jay Nordlinger's piece on political buttons and the like ("Button It," Nov. 29): It always irked me to see my history professor with her Kerry-Edwards button as she would teach us about colonial America. The "insurgents" in Iraq are the equivalent of the Minutemen, she would say. And, like Mr. Nordlinger, I noticed that the anti-Bush buttons and bumper stickers vanished the day after the election. Once, the faculty parking lot was full of those stickers; but they were relatively sparse in the student lots!

Sean Quinn
West Long Branch, N.J.

Here's how I dealt with the Kerry bumper stickers in my condo garage: Each time I saw a new one, I sent $50 to Swift Boat Veterans for Truth or the Club for Growth. It still brings a smile to my face when I enter the garage.

Mentor Heard
Kansas City, Mo.

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by the parent company of Kraft Foods, Philip Morris International and Philip Morris USA

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for the record

"I'm worried about little Adam—his knuckles don't reach the ground."

■ *USA Today*/CNN poll: President **Bush** earns approval rating of 55 percent. . . . Bush says he opposes postponing Iraqi elections: "It's one of those moments in history where a lot of people will be amazed that a society has been transformed so quickly from one of tyranny and torture and mass graves to one in which people actually are allowed to express themselves at the ballot." . . . Bush in Canada: "The success of multilateralism is measured not merely by following a process, but by achieving results. The objective of the U.N. and other institutions must be collective security, not endless debate. For the sake of peace, when those bodies promise serious consequences, serious consequences must follow." . . . **John Cogan** of Hoover Institution, in *Washington Times*: "The odds of getting Social Security reform have never been better because you have a president who is firmly committed to getting it, who has just won a significant reelection, and who has a majority of both houses of Congress. Every expert who has looked at the issue knows that now is the time for reform." . . . Council of Economic Advisers chairman **N. Gregory Mankiw** on Social Security: "The benefits now scheduled for future generations under current law are not sustainable given the projected path of payroll tax revenue. They are empty promises." . . . Bush's first choice to become new homeland-security chief was **Rudy Giuliani**, reports *Washington Times*, but he declined offer and recommended former New York City police commissioner **Bernard Kerik**, who accepted.

■ In Louisiana runoffs, Republican **Charles Boustany** and Democrat **Charles Melancon** win House seats, giving Republicans 232-202 majority in next Congress. . . . During presidential campaign, **John Kerry** and supporters outspent Bush and his backers, $925 million to $822 million, says *Washington Post*. . . . Kerry visits New Hampshire, fueling speculation about 2008. . . . **Jesse Jackson** insists that presidential election isn't over, on MSNBC: "[Kerry] conceded, in my judgment, much too quickly, because he conceded before the full count was in." . . . **Robert Gordon** of American Health Association on "Post Election Selection Trauma," in *Boca Raton News*: "It's no joke. People with PEST were traumatized by the election. If you even mention religion, their faces turn blister-red as they shout at Bush." . . . Washington state certifies election of **Dino Rossi** (R.) as governor, though his 42-vote victory may encourage Democrats to demand second recount.

■ GOP activists launch "Draft **Mark Sanford** for President" website, but so far Gov. Sanford (R., S.C.) says he has no plans beyond running for reelection in 2006. . . . Rep. **Jeff Flake** (R., Ariz.) says he will break term-limits pledge and run for reelection in 2006. . . . Sen. **Jon Corzine** (D., N.J.) plans to seek governorship. . . . Likely GOP candidates include businessman **Doug Forrester** and former Jersey City mayor **Bret Schundler**. . . . As NAACP president **Kweisi Mfume** announces resignation, Maryland Democrats wonder whether he'll run for Senate if Sen. **Paul Sarbanes** (D.) retires. . . . Cranston, R.I., mayor **Stephen Laffey** (R.) considers challenging Sen. **Lincoln Chafee** (R., R.I.) in primary. . . . Chronicle Books announces it will publish novel by Sen. **Barbara Boxer** (D., Calif.) next fall. . . . *New York Times*/CBS News poll: 34 percent say abortion should be "generally available," 44 percent support "stricter limits," and 21 percent say it "should not be permitted."

■ Sen. **Norm Coleman** (R., Minn.) on U.N. secretary general and oil-for-food scam, in *Wall Street Journal*: "It's time for **Kofi Annan** to step down. The massive scope of this debacle demands nothing less. If this widespread corruption had occurred in any legitimate organization around the world, its CEO would have been ousted long ago, in disgrace." . . . In Associated Press poll, 60 percent say Supreme Court should have mandatory retirement age, but 59 percent can't identify job held by Chief Justice **William Rehnquist**. . . . By 2006, voters in at least a dozen states will consider ballot initiatives banning same-sex marriage, reports *Christian Science Monitor*.

■ In Pacific Research Institute's U.S. Economic Freedom Index, Kansas finishes as most free and New York as least free. . . . Census Bureau counts more than 34 million immigrants as of last March. . . . In Arizona, agents make 52 percent of all illegal-alien apprehensions nationwide, up from 16 percent ten years ago. . . . **Joe Garcia** of New Democratic Network on Bush and Hispanic voters: "This is an administration and a party that has taken us out of being sort of a core constituency of the Democratic party and, through the negligence of the Democratic party, into a swing vote. Hispanics should revel in this moment. I think Democrats should be shaking in their boots."

■ Colombian rebels sought to assassinate Bush during recent visit to Cartagena, according to defense minister **Jorge Uribe**. . . . Iranian opposition group says Tehran government is developing missiles that put western Europe within range. . . . Russian parliament votes to eliminate November 7 holiday commemorating 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. . . . European Union takes over Bosnia peacekeeping from NATO.

■ Gov. **Arnold Schwarzenegger** (R., Calif.) on winning the 2004 George Bush Award (named after GWB's dad) for public service: "I guess I take this as a presidential pardon for my bad movies." **NR**

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The Political Economy of Anti-American[illegible]

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Russell A. Berman

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Major foreign policy differences, especially regarding the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, have contributed to the deterioration of relationships between the United States and our traditional allies in Western Europe. There can be no doubt that some European leaders stonewalled the Bush administration on Iraq in order to provide lateral support to the Kerry campaign. With the Bush victory, however, Europe may choose the wiser path of mending fences with Washington.

Yet **an anti-American spirit has been unleashed in the European street, and it will be difficult to tame, not only because of foreign policy but also because of economics**. Poor economic performance in Europe feeds a politics of resentment, and the scapegoat has been the United States.

In 2000, the European Union (EU) launched the ambitious Lisbon process, a reform agenda enabling the EU to become "the most competitive and dynamic, knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth, creating more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" by the year 2010. Lisbon was also a declaration of competition with the United States for global economic primacy. A high-level commission headed by former Dutch prime minister Wim Koks recently determined, however, that European economic performance was deeply disappointing. The gap with the United States has been growing larger, and the Lisbon goals are further away than ever.

Third-quarter growth in the United States was reported at 3.7 percent, a figure eliciting disappointment because it was lower than some had expected. Compare this, however, with the euro economies, where growth in 2004 may only reach 1.8 percent and is predicted to climb at most to a breathtaking 1.9 percent in 2005. Why is growth so slow? The Koks report blames politicians for failing to carry out necessary reforms.

The inability to reform—in the labor market, in impediments to trade, and in the social welfare network—is precisely where the problem of anti-Americanism enters. Efforts to deregulate and liberalize the economy are easily tagged with negative labels: French pundits denounce them as "Anglo-Saxon"; German politicians shun them as the feared "American conditions." **Although Europe urgently needs structural reform, it hides behind the smoke screen of anti-Americanism**, which is really anticapitalism. Rejecting America because of capitalism, however, means repressing the European tradition of free market thinkers from Adam Smith to Friedrich von Hayek.

Many Europeans believe that their slow economy is the price they must pay for their elaborate welfare state. This, however, turns out to be an illusion. A recent study by the Austrian Labor Council shows that the portion of GDP devoted to the social safety net is greater in the United States than it is in Europe; although European states generously pay out more in welfare benefits, they take much more back through higher tax rates.

At the end of the day, anti-Americanism as a block to economic reform inhibits European prosperity. The more Europeans demonstrate, the farther they fall behind. Good-bye to Lisbon.

—Russell A. Berman

Russell A. Berman is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Walter A. Haas Professor in the Humanities at Stanford University. He is the author of Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem *(2004).*

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THE WEEK

■ Howard Dean is running for DNC chairman. We hereby endorse him again.

■ Most of official Washington is now busy hailing—with varying degrees of sincerity—the passage of the intelligence-reform bill. The White House badly wanted the bill, mostly for political reasons. It didn't want the camera-hungry former members of the 9/11 commission to keep pounding it for failing to get the bill passed. And it wanted the bill off the decks so it could concentrate on next year's agenda, including Social Security reform. The creation of a national intelligence director, and the rest of the bill's bureaucratic shuffling, will do little by itself to improve intelligence. That will take an enhanced covert capability and strong leadership at the top, of the sort George Tenet did not provide (but which his replacement, Porter Goss, may be providing). The conservatives who balked at the bill managed to improve it: Rep. Duncan Hunter kept the bill from interfering with the military's chain of command regarding its own operational intelligence. Unfortunately, important provisions tightening up the immigration system in ways suggested by the 9/11 commission's own work, and pushed by Judiciary Committee chairman James Sensenbrenner, were left out of the final bill. But, hey, why ruin a mindless Washington rush to "do something" by insisting on good policy?

■ In the current issue of the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal*, Heather Mac Donald reports on a little-noticed way in which political correctness and our litigation-ready culture undermine national security. "Department of Transportation lawyers have extracted millions in settlements from four major carriers for alleged discrimination after 9/11," she writes—with chilling consequences. The DoT has cultivated a mindset of "litigation phobia" among airline personnel, effectively forbidding them to use the ethnic heritage, national origin, or religion of a passenger as a basis for additional scrutiny. So-called bias investigations make pilots—who are under federal law responsible for the safety of their flights—far less likely to take the risk of singling out suspected terrorists. There is some mildly good news, however: The Transportation Security Administration says it plans to test behavioral profiling—looking for behavioral warning signs in passengers, as Israel currently does—in two airports. Mac Donald hopes, as do we, that TSA has the fortitude to stand up to the charges of discrimination bound to follow.

■ Conventional macroeconomics, as Alan Reynolds remarked some years ago, leaves you wandering in a maze of paradoxes. Right now we are supposed to be worrying about the growing trade deficit and the falling dollar. We are supposed to worry about the trade deficit because it weakens the dollar. The falling dollar, however, will reduce the trade deficit. The shrinking trade deficit will then cause the dollar to rise. So, in short, a falling dollar will cause a rising dollar. If the problem is self-correcting, why worry? We shouldn't. Nor should we celebrate the dollar's fall because of the short-term benefits it provides to American manufacturers (who can sell cheaper abroad and compete at home with more expensive imports). A variety of market indicators, including the price of gold, suggest that the Federal Reserve should step up its tightening of monetary policy. If it does that, one byproduct should be that the dollar will stop sliding.

Bush does Canada
(see page 12)

ROMAN GENN

■ Is there a way to pursue the possible benefits of embryonic stem-cell research without killing human embryos? Many pro-life activists have insisted that adult stem-cell research offers just that potential. Now two new proposals are on the table. A pair of scientists told the Kass council on bioethics that some of the frozen embryos at fertility clinics are dead, that further research might make it possible to determine which ones are dead, and that usable stem cells might be taken from them. One of the council's own members, William Hurlbut, noted that incomplete fertilizations produce "teratomas" rather than embryos. Instead of using cloning to produce human embryos, it might be possible to produce teratomas from which to take stem cells. Our tentative judgment is that these approaches hold promise. As outlined, these procedures would not involve the deliberate ending of the lives of human beings. Research on animals should proceed to see, among other things, whether scientists can reliably create teratomas, rather than embryos. While the scientists go about their work, it remains the duty of politicians to enact the maximum feasible legal

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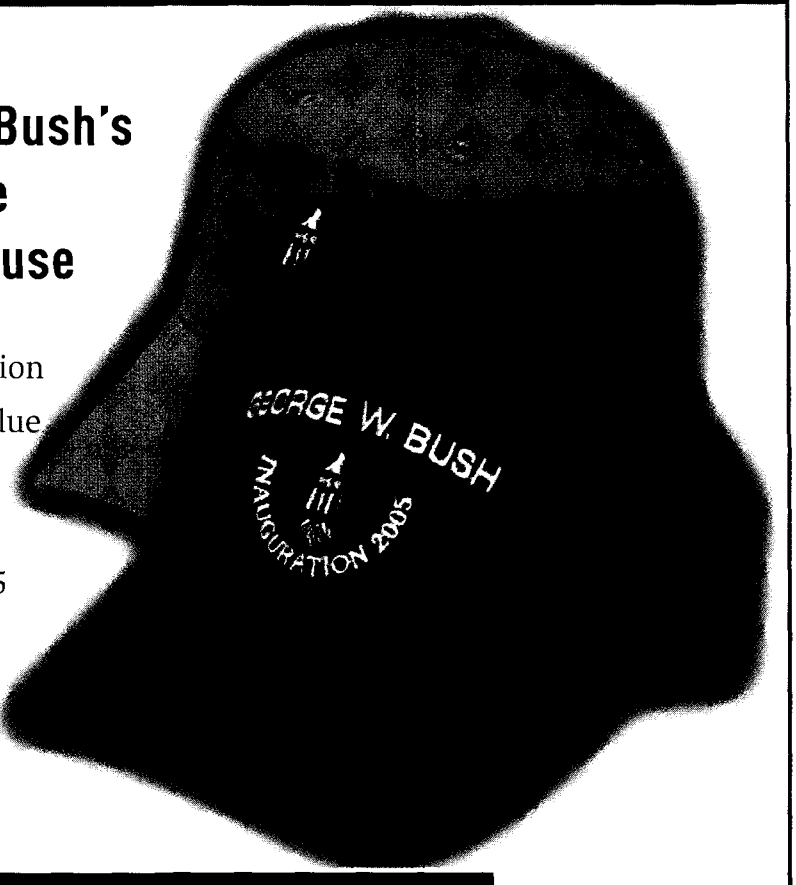

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THE WEEK...

protection for human beings at all stages of development.

■ The baseball steroid scandal insults the intelligence in several ways. Home-run king Barry Bonds's claim that he didn't know he was taking steroids is fantastic. No, Barry, your arms just grew and those fly balls became 73 home runs. Baseball commissioner Bud Selig's promise to "leave no stone unturned" in pursuit of zero tolerance is also laughable. Selig welcomed the home-run spree as a way for baseball to overcome the devastating 1994 players' strike. John McCain, whose ego needs no steroids, threatens to have Congress pass a law. That is too much. Drugs infest every professional sport, and the Olympics. But baseball's devotion to records and tradition depends on a historically level playing field. If the fans and the owners want to keep their game from becoming a kind of pro wrestling with bases, they must take action on their own.

■ Many law schools have blocked military recruiting on campus to protest the military's ban on openly homosexual servicemembers. Washington reacted by cutting off funds for schools that adopt that tactic. Now federal judges have ruled Washington's reaction unconstitutional. The theory is that the schools have a kind of freedom of association, just as the Boy Scouts do when they exclude gay Scoutmasters. We think it's a stretch from freedom of association to a right to receive government subsidies, and the ruling is even more of a stretch given that the Constitution does not mention freedom of association explicitly. (Sorry, Scouts.) The lawyer for the schools, E. Joshua Rosenkranz, exulted in the ruling in terms guaranteed to erase any doubts that the schools' policy is obnoxious: "Enlightened institutions have a First Amendment right to exclude bigots." We are now deprived of the opportunity to learn how willing our elite law schools would be to take their brave stands of principle were there money at stake. Perhaps the theorists can take up this question in the law reviews.

■ Alabama is being pilloried for its alleged racism. Voters there narrowly defeated an initiative to remove Jim Crow provisions from the state constitution. Opponents of that initiative said that because it would remove the constitution's ban on "recognizing any right to education or training at public expense," it would give judges a license to set education policy and even to raise taxes. Supporters of the initiative treat that rationale as a transparent smokescreen for racial prejudice. No doubt some of the voters who opposed the initiative were racist. But obviously some substantial number of voters were moved by the argument about education. In other states, constitutional guarantees of a right to education have opened the door to judicial policymaking, and almost always liberal policymaking—as in New York, where a court-appointed panel has just ordered a $6 billion increase in spending on New York City schools. Perhaps voters thought this risk too large to take, especially since the truly offensive constitutional provisions are no longer legally enforceable under federal law. The media types who have lectured Alabamians about their backwardness, notably Dan Abrams of MSNBC, are making sweeping generalizations based on incomplete information, which is also a kind of prejudice to be avoided.

■ Dino Rossi, the Republican who won the Washington gubernatorial election by 42 votes, was asked by Judy Woodruff, "Are you the winner? Or was this more of a tie?" Rossi responded, classically, "No, a tie is actually when you tie." This reminds us of the late, great Sonny Bono, who, when asked about illegal immigration, said, "Well, it's illegal, isn't it?" And of our own Bill Buckley, who was interviewed by the *MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour*'s Charlayne Hunter-Gault after he had been down to visit the *Titanic*. Why is what you're doing not grave-robbing? she asked. A puzzled WFB said, "Because it's not robbing graves?" You're in good company, Governor Rossi.

■ A serious push has begun to postpone the Iraq elections currently scheduled for Jan. 30. This would be a mistake. Once an election is delayed once, it becomes ever easier to keep postponing it until the "security situation improves." By the standard of the advocates of delay, civil-war-wracked El Salvador never would have begun its transition to democracy in the 1980s and Colombia wouldn't be holding elections now. There is no guarantee that security will dramatically improve in the Sunni Triangle in the next six months or within any other arbitrary timeframe. A delay might even encourage Sunni thugs to escalate their killing campaign, and alienate the majority Shia from the U.S., which would be a death knell for our project in Iraq. This is a case where the perfect shouldn't be allowed to be the enemy of the good, or even—given conditions in Iraq—of the merely adequate.

■ Immediately after the International Atomic Energy Agency welcomed Iran's offer to suspend uranium enrichment while negotiating with Britain, France, and Germany over a long-term nuclear deal, Iran's chief negotiator, Hassan Rohani, declared, "We have proved that, in an international institution, we are capable of isolating the U.S. And that is a great victory." Unfortunately, Rohani is right: This latest European diplomatic "breakthrough" allowed Iran to avoid facing the Security Council, and now the U.S. has to sit on the sidelines while Europe buys the mullahs more time. Iran will almost certainly continue to pursue weapons clandestinely, as it would even in the unlikely event that a long-term deal went through. If the

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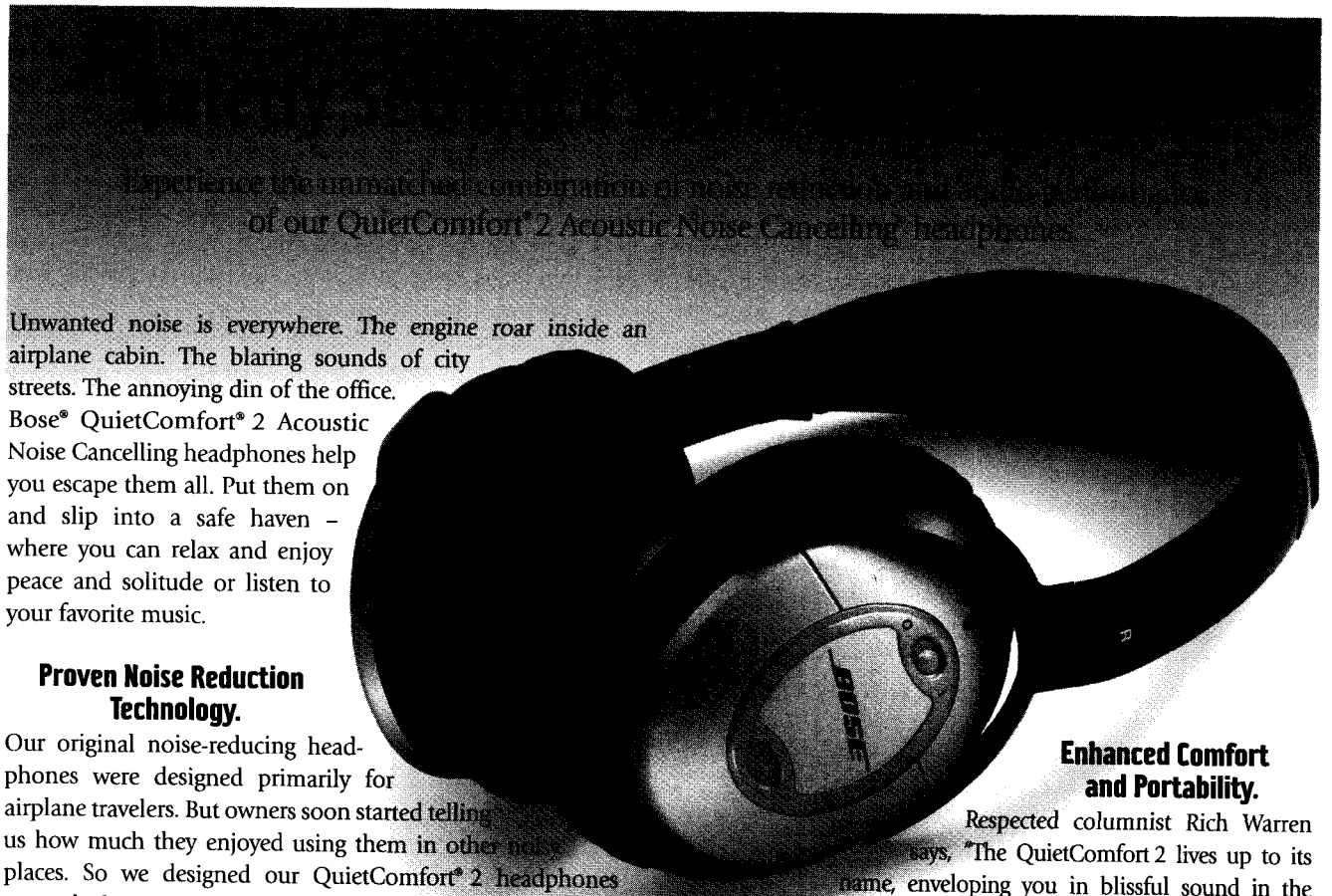

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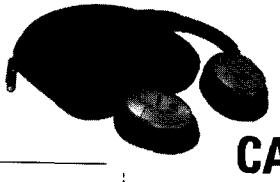

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THE WEEK...

Europeans believe otherwise, they are delusional. More likely, they are so desperate to prove they can take care of world problems without using force—unlike those cowboys in Washington—that they are willing to be strung along by the mullahs indefinitely (they have been negotiating to no avail since August 2003). This could have dire consequences. In Iran, the world may soon face a nuclear-armed terror state. Phony diplomatic deals will only delay the day of reckoning—if that.

■ Noting rightly that the U.S. and the European Union had jointly helped to keep Ukraine free and democratic, Robert Kagan, in the *Washington Post*, went on to conclude that America should welcome further European integration. The EU's "soft power" and "lure of membership," he argues, have already stabilized central and eastern Europe. A tighter but postmodern EU—which he conceives to be a liberal imperialism that expands by Borg-like absorption—might help the U.S. to sedate and smother other regional-cum-ethnic conflicts from the Baltics to the Middle East to central Asia. Best of all, the U.S. need not fear the EU's growing power since "Europe will be neither hostile nor a superpower in the traditional sense." Well, that's good to know. But the EU is certainly behaving oddly in equipping itself with all the trappings of national identity (flags, currencies, citizens, armies) if it wishes to avoid being a new and large nation. Its postmodern (i.e., undemocratic) features enable the EU to act as a superpower in the absence of a European nation and against the wishes of actual European voters. Anti-Americanism across the continent is encouraged by EU leaders as the cement of this future European nationality. And though the EU cooperates with the U.S. where interests coincide, as in Ukraine, it is often hostile in trade and commercial policy, seeking to impose its own regulations (and costs) on American businesses worldwide. It hardly seems necessary to add that the EU was a laggard in expanding eastward and stabilizing post-Communist states (NATO and the U.S. led the way) or that it seeks to subvert American policy in Iraq and U.S. support for Israel. Kagan ends by suggesting to the Brits that they should agree to be ruled by Brussels in order to persuade the EU

Pride About Privilege

"A very distinguished *New York Times* writer" once told Michael Kinsley "that if the *Times* ballet critic, heading home after assessing the day's offerings of pliés and glissades, happens to witness a murder on her way to the Times Square subway, she has a First Amendment right and obligation to refuse to testify about what she saw."

Kinsley's story isn't surprising. Today's elite press corps considers itself to be more akin to a priesthood, with special dispensations and privileges that apply only to it. The Columbia Journalism School is its supreme seminary, and institutions like NATIONAL REVIEW, Fox News, and (shudder) the bloggers are a motley collection of heretics, Anabaptists, and barbarians. We're all familiar with the arguments—presented often in this magazine—that campaign-finance "reform" is the elite media's way of beating back the democratization of political discourse. The *New York Times* and Michael Moore can editorialize to their hearts' content about politics, but private groups—such as the Swift Boat Vets—are to have their megaphones confiscated and soapboxes smashed.

But you may not appreciate how far the elite press wants to take its anointed status. Prompted by the investigation into who leaked Valerie Plame's identity to Bob Novak and others, reporters and the senators who love them are considering proposing federal legislation giving journalists absolute immunity from revealing their sources. If you yourself witness a crime and are called before a court, you can say what you saw or you can go to jail. Journalists want the full ballet-critic's exemption. *No matter what I see, know, or participate in, I don't have to tell you jack. I'm a journalist, damn it!*

Obviously, there needs to be a balance between freedom of the press and the state's obligation to prosecute criminals. And there's been a lot of responsible—i.e., dull and sober—commentary about where that balance is. But what few seem to acknowledge is that journalists want an absolute right to protect criminals and a partial right to *commit crimes*. Imagine a government official wants to punish an opponent or, say, you. He digs up your FBI file, your tax returns, your military records, all of which are highly illegal to divulge publicly. The government official doesn't own a newspaper or a TV station, so he sneaks these documents out the back door to a waiting journalist in a car. Now, the current debate is merely about whether that reporter should have to divulge his criminal source. But common sense says the reporter is a criminal too. Sure, lawyers, priests, and psychiatrists don't have to divulge what their "clients" tell them. But they aren't allowed to help them commit crimes either.

Let's assume that the worst allegations about Valerie Plame's outing are true (I have major doubts)—that government officials deliberately exposed and endangered a CIA agent for political retribution. We all agree this is and should be a crime. According to the Pharisees of the journalistic establishment this is a horrendous crime (no doubt in part because they think Karl Rove did it), but not so great a crime that a journalist should even reveal who his or her accomplices were. Why? Because there is no crime that should warrant the state's meddling in the affairs of the priestly caste.

—JONAH GOLDBERG

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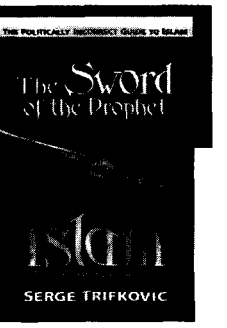
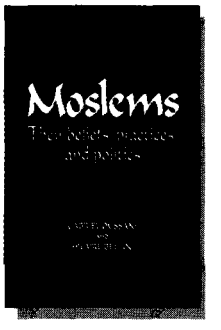
It's beginning to dawn on Americans of all persuasions that Islam is no friend



And none too soon, says journalist-scholar Serge Trifkovic, whose alarming new book documents present-day Moslem atrocities on several continents. He also examines:

- ▼ The anti-Christian bias of most major media coverage which, oddly enough, leads to whitewashing of the Islamic faith
- ▼ Actual teachings of both "militant Islam" and allegedly "moderate Islam"
- ▼ Hair-raising elements in the Koran
- ▼ The prophet Mohammed's life and works, in disturbing detail
- ▼ Treatment of females, easy divorce, temporary marriage, quantity of wives: but you've probably heard only a fraction of the horrors Moslem women face
- ▼ Why "right" and "just" in Islam have shifting meanings and are not anchored in God's decrees
- ▼ Moslem massacres in the past few years
- ▼ The golden age of Islam—a sobering overview, and one that belies the notion that Moslems are inept
- ▼ Our ally, Saudi Arabia. A true portrait of the regime
- ▼ Homosexuality, in the twisted Islamic purview
- ▼ Moslem minorities in Christian countries: The Koran permits them to adopt a peaceful approach—but only to deceive
- ▼ Chapter: "Western Appeasement." Why we're afraid, how liberals undermine resolve, what lessons we should take from Europe's recent experience with Moslems
- ▼ Chapter: "Jihad's Fifth Column." Their operations and scope of activity in our own country

Over 50 years before Serge Trifkovic's exposé on Islam the great writer Hilaire Belloc warned:



"I cannot but believe that a main unexpected thing of the future is the return of Islam."

Belloc's words were written in 1936—long before the Christian West permitted millions of Moslems to immigrate and proliferate, building thousands of new mosques in the United States and Europe, including a huge one in Rome itself a few years ago. Belloc's essay on Moslems, together with five important and meaty Catholic Encyclopedia articles by scholar Gabriel Oussani from 1908, comprise this valuable book from Roger A. McCaffrey Publishing. Major themes:

- ▼ What Mohammed actually taught. Why it's heresy
- ▼ How close the Moslems came—as recently as three centuries ago—to dominating Europe by force
- ▼ Why the Moslem military threat was so real...and then collapsed
- ▼ The real origins and astonishingly rapid development of Islam
- ▼ All about the Crusades (and why *do* Church leaders apologize for them?)

Belloc and Oussani's writings make clear that Moslems and Christians don't mix very well. The lesson: Christians need to reproduce to survive. Just as important: Christians cannot share political power with sworn enemies without dire consequences for their children and grandchildren.

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THE WEEK...

to be less anti-American. Generous of the Brits if they agree to this. But it casts some doubt on his general thesis of U.S.-EU harmony—and ignores the likelihood that the Brits would become more anti-American once locked into an anti-American political structure. Ah well, back to the drawing board.

■ President Bush's visit to Ottawa and Halifax was a diplomatic triumph. Canada's small but vociferous anti-American minority conspicuously failed to turn out for protests—and Canada's new prime minister, Paul Martin, has been busily signaling that on issues from Iraq to missile defense, Canada is ready to rejoin the Western alliance: "We are in a war against terrorism, and we are in it together: Americans and Canadians." Etc. Since the visit, Martin has been even more encouraging. Some of Bush's critics have endorsed the strange conceit that everything that happens in the world happens because of him. But other countries have motives and purposes too. U.S-Canadian relations have been troubled in recent years because former prime minister Jean Chrétien *wanted* a bad relationship in order to appease left-wing members of his governing Liberal party. Chrétien's departure and Bush's reelection have transformed that political calculus—and apparently restored one of our oldest and most precious alliances.

■ Dan Rather, who will retire as anchorman of *The CBS Evening News* next March, capped years of failure with a moment of disgrace. The moment came when he swallowed palpably fake documents that claimed George W. Bush was a National Guard no-show. The years saw him take the *Evening News*, crown jewel of the Tiffany network, into the ratings cellar. Rather's odd personality, by turns explosive and constipated, contributed; so did his bumptious, snake-handling liberalism. Peggy Noonan, who worked with him, saw a more attractive figure. We who sat in our living rooms didn't.

■ No reader of this magazine will be surprised to hear that the faculty at American universities are overwhelmingly left-wing. It always helps to quantify a phenomenon, though—and here comes Daniel Klein, an associate professor of economics at Santa Clara University, with actual numbers. In a series of careful studies, Professor Klein discovered that the ratio of Democrats to Republicans on university faculties ranged from 3 to 1 among economists to 30 to 1 among anthropologists; that voter-registration records revealed a 9 to 1 ratio of Democrats to Republicans on the faculties of Berkeley and Stanford; that Democrats outnumbered Republicans about 7 to 1 in the humanities and social sciences nationwide; and so on. What on earth accounts for these colossal disparities? For an answer, the *New York Times* went to—who else?—a Democrat on the Berkeley faculty. Liberals, explains George P. Lakoff, just make better academics. "Unlike conservatives they believe in working for the public good and social justice, as well as knowledge and art for their own sake." Western civilization is in good hands, then. Thank heavens! For a moment we thought there might be something wrong.

■ Hamilton College, a small liberal-arts school in upstate New York, announced the appointment of Susan Rosenberg as an "artist/activist-in-residence," teaching a half-credit seminar in January. Ms. Rosenberg's credentials? She belonged to the Weather Underground, most violent and futile of all post-Sixties left-wing movements. She was an accessory to the 1981 Brinks armored-car robbery in which a guard and two cops were murdered. Three years later, she was caught with a cache of weapons, including 740 pounds of explosives. This domestic Baathist insurgent was convicted and imprisoned, but freed in the rush of Bill Clinton's midnight pardons. Hamilton thus continues the tradition of its most famous alumnus, Ezra Pound, who, however, only hailed murderous regimes, without plotting actual murders himself. How did a college named for Alexander Hamilton come to this?

■ Tasked by her teacher with writing a Thanksgiving poem, fifth-grader Kaeley Hay of the Lincoln-Franklin Elementary School in Garwood, N.J., came up with this charming little idyll: "Leaves are falling out of the air, / Piles of leaves everywhere. / Scarecrows standing high up with the corn, / Farmers harvest in the early morn. / Pilgrims thank God for what they were given, / Everybody say . . . happy Thanksgiving!" Kaeley's classmates liked her work so much they voted to display it on the school's bulletin board November 10, just in time for parent-teacher night. The poem was duly posted . . . but not before a vigilant staff member, sensing danger to the Republic, had struck out the word "God." The child's mother complained. After consulting their attorneys, the school board reinstated the offending word. Another constitutional crisis narrowly averted! Thank *goodness* we have attorneys to tell us what we may do.

■ Cuban Americans are angry at the Burlington Coat Factory for marketing a line of Che Guevara T-shirts, just in time for Christmas. Why only Cuban Americans? The Argentine-born Guevara was a violent thug who cruised around Latin America looking for countries to revolutionize (the recent biopic about him, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, is soft-core Communism, nothing else). He died trying to conquer Bolivia. Hey, Burlington—how about Osama sweaters? Zarqawi scarves? Himmler would look cool on leather.

■ The president has nominated Carlos M. Gutierrez for the position of secretary of commerce. Gutierrez left his native Cuba as a political refugee, learned English from a bellhop in a Miami hotel, got a job delivering Frosted Flakes out of a van, and rose to become CEO of the Kellogg company. We congratulate Mr. Gutierrez on his appointment, and commend the event to Mr. Miguel Ramirez of Rockville Centre, Long Island, for his thoughtful consideration. Mr. Ramirez is a Dominican immigrant. His 16-year-old son stole a classmate's backpack and used the cellphone he found there to call the boy's mother, telling the lady that her son was being held at knifepoint, and demanding a $5,000 ransom. Ramirez Jr. has been charged with attempted grand larceny and other offenses. Remarked Ramirez Sr., "They'll get you for every little thing if you're Hispanic."

■ In the spring of 2002, Pat Tillman, a defensive back with the Arizona Cardinals, walked away from his multi-million-dollar

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THE WEEK...

contract to enlist in the U.S. Army Rangers. Football "just seems so unimportant compared to everything that has taken place," he said. In April 2004 Specialist Tillman died in a firefight in Afghanistan. Now a two-part series in the *Washington Post* confirms what the Army only partly acknowledged earlier this year: Tillman was killed by his comrades. Tillman's platoon, hobbled by a broken-down Humvee and ordered to search a village, split up; in the dusk, the two halves mistakenly exchanged fire. The grimly named "friendly fire" occurs in all wars (in the French and Indian War Col. George Washington knocked up the blazing muskets of his men with his sword because they were firing at each other in the woods in the dark). So do tight-lipped higher-ups. Tillman served bravely—as have, and as do, thousands of brothers in arms. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

THE CABINET

The Virtue of Loyalty

THE exodus of Bush officials has turned into a stampede. Tom Ridge is leaving as director of homeland security, John Danforth as U.N. ambassador, Tommy Thompson as health and human services secretary. Donald Rumsfeld is staying—which is interesting; if Bush had wanted him out, he could have joined the leavetakers without its looking like a capitulation to his liberal critics. John Snow might be headed for the door, or dragged there.

The media line is that Bush is stacking his administration with "loyalists." Former White House staffers Condoleezza Rice, Margaret Spellings, and Alberto Gonzales are headed to State, Education, and Justice, respectively. Mark McClellan, another former aide, may replace Thompson. On the other hand, former New York City police commissioner Bernard Kerik, whom Bush wants to replace Ridge, can't reasonably be described as a Bush flunky, even by the critics' standards.

Loyalty is not such a bad thing. It's not as though Clinton's cabinet secretaries exposed him to the case for tax cuts. Nor were Bush's first-term appointees lauded by the critics for their independent-mindedness. (You may recall that folks like Colin Powell were, at the time, said to be "retreads" of Bush's father's administration.) The Constitution separates powers among the branches of the federal government, but it does not require a separation of powers within the executive branch. (Actually, it militates against it in the name of accountability and unity of purpose.)

The president and Karl Rove have clearly given some thought to why second terms usually bog down, and they are determined to avoid the typical mistakes. Hence the bold domestic agenda, for example. Selecting cabinet heads who do not have independent political bases or ambitions is not a bad way to keep the administration focused on Bush's agenda. Conservatives will be keener about some appointments than others. We hope that Bush picks a Treasury secretary who is an articulate and steady advocate for markets, such as Phil Gramm. And we expect McClellan to be a departure from the precedent set by previous Republican HHS secretaries, who have not been spokesmen for markets in health care.

But conservatives are rightly pleased with the cabinet as a whole. It is oriented toward the implementation of an agenda that is largely, though not exclusively, conservative, which is also true of the party Bush leads.

UKRAINE

Orangemen

WHAT can one say about the Orange Revolution, so successful in its initial aim of forcing another presidential vote in Ukraine, except—"hurrah"? It has been an awe-inspiring victory of nonviolent action. There were a dozen days of protests, with hundreds of thousands of people supporting cheated opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko and yet not one violent incident. The demonstrators behaved in a way explicitly designed to forge a better politics in Ukraine. They know, as Vaclav Havel has observed, that the nature of a revolution says much about the nature of the resulting government. Yushchenko's supporters wedded Ukrainian patriotism to a democratic politics, putting to rest the old smear (a favorite of the KGB) that any gathering of Ukrainian nationalists is a proto-fascist rally.

For the U.S., there has been a nice alignment of foreign-policy idealism and realism in the crisis. Spreading freedom is a good in its own right, and in this case, accorded with the cold geopolitical imperative of keeping Ukraine and Russia separate, thus securing Europe from Russian ambitions. Without Ukraine (and other former imperial appendages), Russia is a country of 140 million, a major power, but hardly a colossus.

Russian president Vladimir Putin badly mishandled the situation, creating a self-inflicted defeat for his creeping authoritarianism. He thought he could still treat Ukraine as a colony (meddling there as he has in Moldova, Georgia, and Belarus), and sided with history's losers. His eagerness to rubberstamp the Ukrainian election served to highlight the bogusness of his own "53 percent"—yes, those are sneer quotes—vote in 2000. The last few weeks have been an alarm bell about Putin's intentions.

But there is a limit to our direct influence over Russia. If both the Clinton and Bush administrations have tilted too far toward the Kremlin, it is also the case that Russia's true democrats have so far shown few marketable political skills (although one hopes the last few weeks will provide them an invigorating jolt). The administration should be firm with Putin, but not aggressive. Its conduct during the Ukraine crisis is a kind of model: It was absolutely clear about its principles and its policy, but careful not to deliberately humiliate Putin.

Viktor Yushchenko's struggle with the Ukrainian old guard will continue, over issues such as immunity for the alleged crimes of current president Leonid Kuchma. But, for now, it's enough to marvel at what the peaceful demonstrators of Ukraine have wrought. In recent weeks, everyone around the world who truly prizes liberty has been Orange.

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The Signing of the Declaration of Independence, detail, by John Trumbull.

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notes & asides

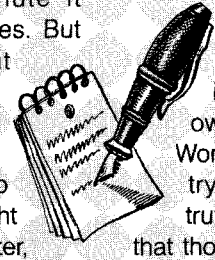
■ On November 23, 2004, the Center for Security Policy gave WFB its Mightier Pen Award. Norman Podhoretz introduced him at the luncheon held in his honor at the 21 Club in New York City. Below are their remarks.

Introduction by Norman Podhoretz:

NEARLY half a century ago, when I had only just joined the staff of *Commentary* as a lowly assistant editor, I scored a great coup by persuading Dwight Macdonald, one of the liveliest and wittiest polemicists of the day, to write an article about the first ten issues of a new magazine called NATIONAL REVIEW. The piece then appeared under a title which—as in later years I shamefacedly confessed to Bill Buckley—came not from Macdonald but from me: "Scrambled Eggheads on the Right."

Now, as a young liberal already in the process of moving further left, I was for my sins delighted to have ordered up so heavy an artillery barrage against a right-wing intellectual magazine almost the minute it showed the whites of its eyes. But there was one thing about Macdonald's assault that bothered me, and that was his breezy assurance that Buckley didn't know how to write. I, on the contrary, thought that Buckley was a brilliant writer, and being a literary man as well as a man of the Left, I found myself applying to him the words W. H. Auden in his own left-wing period had used of two writers whose conservative views he detested:

> Time, that . . .
> Worships language and forgives
> Everyone by whom it lives; . . .
> Time that with this strange excuse
> Pardoned Kipling and his views,
> And will pardon Paul Claudel,
> Pardons him for writing well.



Unlike Time, *I* did not then forgive or pardon Buckley, though I did continue to harbor a sneaking admiration for his literary skills. He, by contrast, managed in due course to forgive *me* for the Macdonald article, and a few other aggressions I subsequently went on to commit against him in the heat of political debate.

Of course, the act of forgiving—difficult even for a good Christian like Bill—was made considerably easier when, as he once put it, the light of conservative truth began to penetrate my eyes, which had previously been blinded by the delusions of the utopian Left. And by that point, thanks to another of Time's powers, Bill's youthful version of conservatism had almost imperceptibly mutated into a perspective not all that distant from the neoconservative position to which I had at my own pace been gravitating since the late '60s.

But Time, as is its wont, has not stood still, so that by now it has worked yet another transformation; and this one has resulted in a tremendously ironic development that neither Bill nor I would ever have dreamed possible. Amazingly, he is nowadays in the position of trying to forgive *me* for holding views to the right of his own on what some of us call World War IV. Conversely, I keep trying to open *his* eyes to the truths of the Bush Doctrine, now that those eyes have been dimmed, though thankfully not altogether blinded, by certain ideas stemming from the so-called realist school of thought.

Mirabile dictu, as he might say of this bizarre reversal of roles.

Be that as it may, since Bill is being honored today with an award based on the mightiness of his pen, I think it proper to emphasize that aspect of his incomparable contribution to the life of this country's mind. I cannot imagine that anyone today would fall into the same egregious error of judgment that Dwight Macdonald made back in 1956 about Bill as a writer. And yet my impression is that his historic achievement in building the conservative movement has overshadowed the great literary powers which were an indispensable instrument in the forging of that achievement. Which is why these powers are still not sufficiently appreciated, not even by many of his admirers.

Let me say, then, flat out that Bill Buckley is one of the very best writers of English prose we have in America, or anywhere else the English language holds sway. It is a prose capable of manifold marvels—marvels of exposition, marvels of lyrical description, marvels of evocative portraiture, marvels of wicked humor and sly wit. Best of all, perhaps, are the marvels of devotional incantation. Here is one small sample, a particular favorite of mine:

> . . . if there were nothing to complain about, there would be no post-Adamite mankind. But complaint is profanation in the absence of gratitude. There is much to complain about in America, but that awful keening noise one unhappily gets so used to makes no way for the bells, and these have rung for America, are still ringing for America, and for this we are obliged to be grateful. To be otherwise is wrong reason, and a poetical invitation to true national tribulation. I must remember to pray more often, because Providence has given us the means to make the struggle, and in this respect we are singularly blessed in this country, and in this room.

So indeed we are, in no small part thanks to William F. Buckley Jr.'s mighty pen, whose victories over the thousand swords that have leaped from their scabbards against him and his work it is our great honor to honor today.

WFB's remarks:

THE word "mightier" is a comparative. If it weren't that I am a diplomat, a friend of management, and an ally in the Center for Security Policy's enterprises, I might

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have been quarrelsome enough to say: Why not use the superlative? The *mightiest* pen?

The Center for Security Policy has coasted by Mark Helprin and Charles Krauthammer and Abe Rosenthal, without pausing to declare any one of them the mightiest pen in town, so in fact, the title hasn't been given out. I can hardly blame management for holding back when my own name came up, the principle of holding on to reserve forces. We'll just have to wait a while before acclaiming the mightiest pen around.

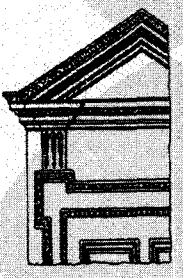
But I do want to thank the lobby that put so much pressure on Frank Gaffney and what he calls his "extremely small" staff to go all the way with my own award, even if I lost out. I can be a very good sport about these things. We all learn from Abe Rosenthal, who nosed me out last year. I once asked him why he had become executive editor of the *New York Times* after serving for so many years as managing editor. He answered: "I felt like promoting myself."

I think of him in particular because just last year I had the honor of introducing him as a mightier pen. After my introduction, we all sat down eagerly to take in his acknowledgment, which would be charged with his special electricity; but all he did was smile and say, Thank you. The brevity of his remarks brought him a standing ovation, making him, implicitly, not merely a mightier pen, but the mightiest pen.

I have proceeded without a single word about the gentleman who introduced me.

I should reveal that this happened to me once before. I mean, I was the recipient of an award, and introduced by Norman Podhoretz. The very idea that any award could bring greater honor to the beneficiary than an introduction by Norman Podhoretz is an effrontery that could only be attempted by a mightier imagination than my own. We know the debt we all have to him, we know about his prodigious achievements, and we can't—at least, I cannot—with any assurance name any American who persuasively competes with him in services rendered to our country. Granted, that's the kind of language used in the White House about him, when he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, but it's true anyway.

As for Frank Gaffney, everyone concerned for national security is aware of his contributions to it. I became aware of him many years ago, and we at National Review felt him slogging his way, unyieldingly, through the superstitions that were generated so profusely about disarmament, over so many years. I think of him and Richard Perle as uniquely effective in disseminating the analytical axiom of the Center for Security Policy. It is that fewer arms do not bring lessened risks.



Most recently, Frank has been heard on the subject of nuclear armament. We have been told by President Putin, no less, that Russia has designs on a brand new family of nuclear weaponry which, said Mr. Putin, would make his country mightier and perhaps even the mightiest.

The Center for Security Policy has heard such talk before and is wise not automatically to dismiss it. The responsibility of those who look after the national security is best measured by the awesome difficulty one has in merely mentioning apocalyptic weaponry. In 1964, Senator Goldwater said offhandedly that there might be a conceivable use for low-yield nuclear weapons in effecting the desired impenetrability of the DMZ in Vietnam—using them not against human beings but to defoliate the jungles that were giving the North Vietnamese troops cover.

He was of course immediately denounced as Dr. Strangelove. I wrote to him at the time that the only way a presidential candidate can use the two words "nuclear bombs" is to deplore their existence. There is a sense in which we all deplore their existence. There is also a sense in which we measure their special weight not reproachfully, but gratefully, a weight com- mensurate with our devotion to liberty.

I note from some of the publications of the Center for Security Policy that solidarity is encouraged in the matter of the war in Iraq. Analysis is a special skill of Mr. Gaffney and his associates, as it is of Norman Podhoretz. Those friends who did not keep pace with his reasoning are now ex-friends, and I know of no terrestrial fate worse than that.

A point that should not be lost is that the concern for national security is a concern that transcends the war in Iraq. That war can be said to have been, at distinct moments in the past, coextensive with a concern for the national security. But policies that once conflated do not necessarily continue fused, any more than marriages which once brought two persons into singularity always survive as such.

We went to Iraq for the right reasons, a venture in affirming the palpable demands of national security. At this moment we can't say with absolute assurance that the venture will succeed in its stated purpose, but we know that the demands of national security will continue, that challenges aimed at our national security will continue, and that we will have to meet them in whatever theater they appear, and in whatever guise, with tactical energy and self-confidence, but with an eye to the strategic reserve. That lesson was nowhere more vividly spelled out than in Vietnam. Our aims were not met there, but our grander aim—our mightiest aim—was not sacrificed.

And so I raise my cup, and wield my pen, to seek to continue to merit your confidence, and I look always for opportunities to identify myself with the company I have so gratefully kept this afternoon.

—WFB

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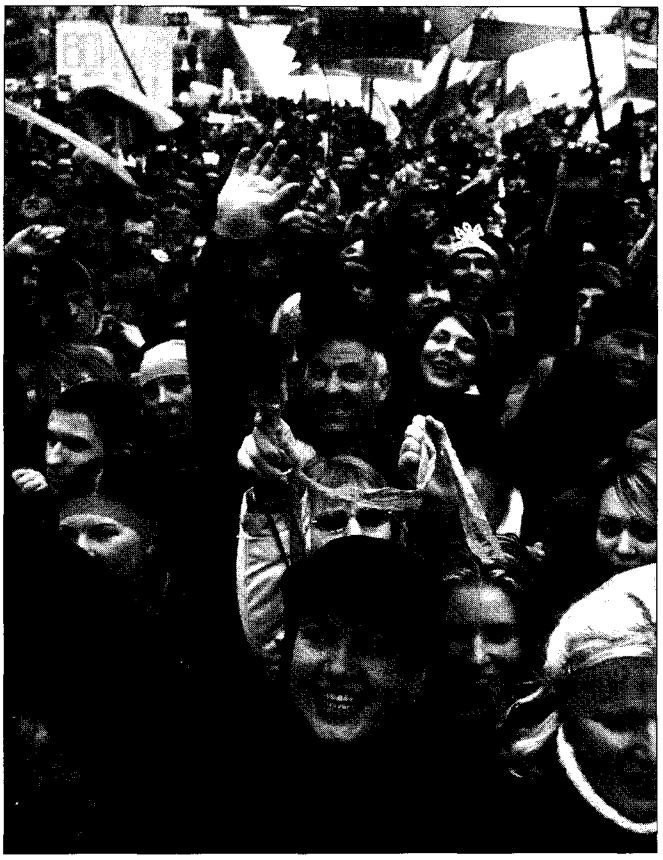

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■ THE WORLD ■

In the 'Borderland'

The struggle for Ukraine

RICHARD PIPES

"THEY won: decisively, irreversibly, and unconditionally." That is the reaction of the Russian daily *Izvestiia* to the decision of Ukraine's supreme court to annul the results of the recent presidential election and hold a new one. The "they" in that sentence are the supporters of Victor Yushchenko, who, according to all observers, had been deprived of victory by blatant electoral fraud perpetrated by Yushchenko's main opponent, Viktor Yanukovych, and his backers, namely outgoing president Leonid Kuchma and Ukraine's Russian minority. Never before have events in Ukraine attracted so much attention abroad, and rightly so: They represent a genuine democratic revolution with potentially explosive consequences for all the states that once made up the Soviet empire, Russia included.

Ukraine is a young country with a recently matured sense of national identity. Until the middle of the 19th century, she was "Little Russia," a region and a people whom the Great Russians considered an intrinsic part of their own nation. Russians viewed with deep suspicion Ukrainian claims to independent nationhood, so much so that in 1876 the czarist government forbade the printing of works in the Ukrainian language. The center of Ukrainian nationalism subsequently moved to Galicia, then under Austrian rule.

Russia's claims to Ukraine rest in good measure on the historical fact that the first Russian state was located in Kiev, today's Ukrainian capital. That state was destroyed by Mongol invaders in the 13th century, following which Russia's population and statehood shifted to the forest zone in the northeast, with the capital in Moscow. What had been the Kievan principality passed under Polish rule in the 14th century, where it would remain for some four centuries. ("Ukraine" is derived from the Slavic word for "borderland," which explains why its name was traditionally—and in my opinion correctly—preceded by "the," as is the case with "the Netherlands" or "the Low Countries.")

Ukraine's long experience of Polish rule had a variety of consequences, leading to political and cultural developments that differentiated her from Russia. Unlike Russia and her autocracy, Poland was a constitutional monarchy dominated by the nobility, with parliamentary institutions and extensive civil liberties. Through Poland, literate Ukrainians became acquainted with the West. A large part of Ukraine's population consisted of runaway serfs from Muscovy: These formed anarchist Cossack communities of freebooters who recognized no external authority. All this resulted in a libertarian tradition quite different from the austere and isolated regime prevailing in Russia.

Russia acquired Ukraine gradually, beginning in the 17th century and ending in the mid-20th, when—as a result of the Stalin-Hitler pact—Ukraine's last remaining outpost, Galicia, then Polish, passed under Soviet rule. Lenin had granted Bolshevik Ukraine the status of a Soviet republic, nominally sovereign but in reality subject to control by the Russian Communist party. Under Stalin's rule, the region suffered terrible depredations, including a man-made famine in the early 1930s in the course of which between 7 and 9 million Ukrainians perished.

When the USSR dissolved in December 1991, Ukraine declared her

Mr. Pipes is professor of history emeritus at Harvard and author most recently of *Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger.*

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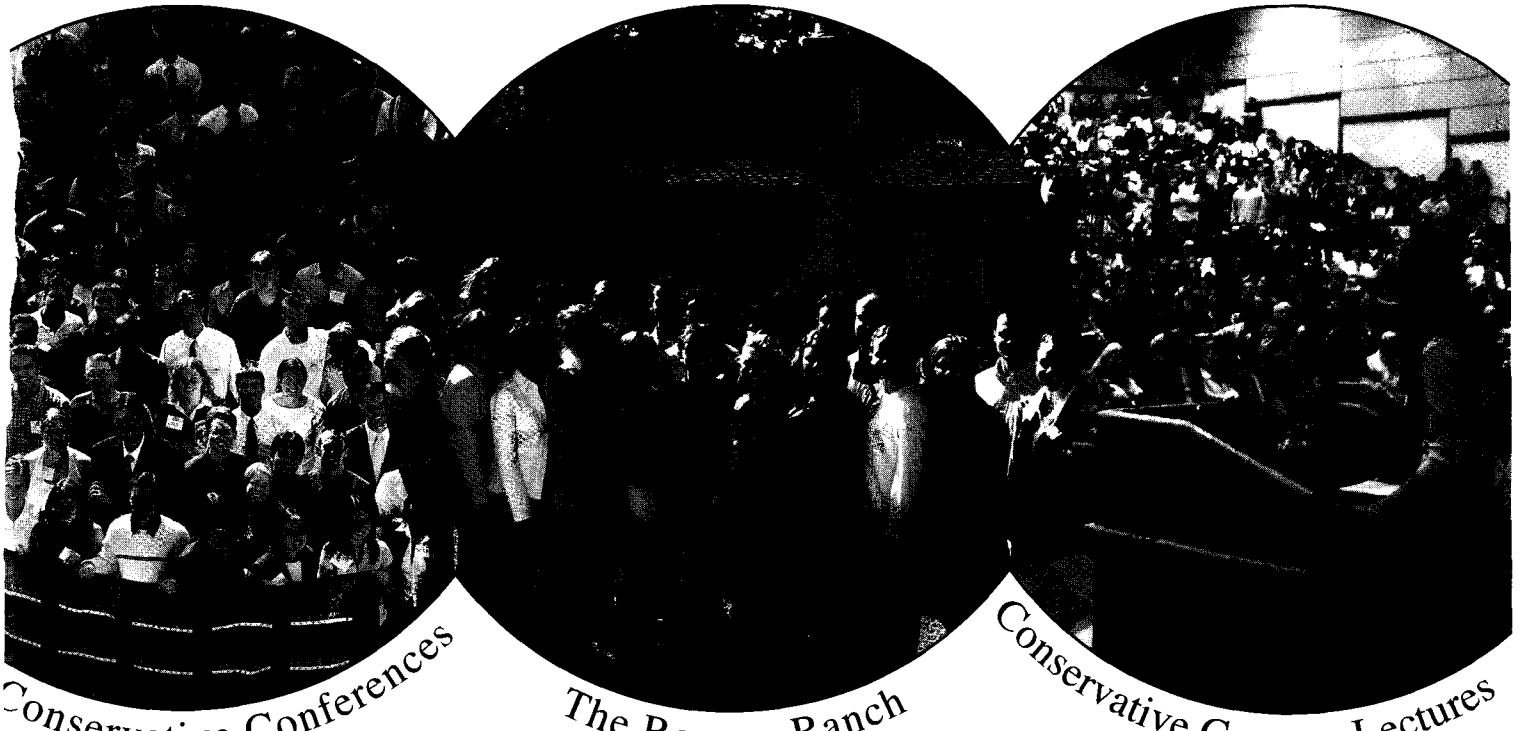

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independence, a decision acknowledged by Russia's new president, Boris Yeltsin. But a large majority of Russians found it psychologically impossible to adjust themselves to the loss of Ukraine, the richest of the one-time Soviet republics and one inhabited by a kindred people (the two share a common ancestry from Kiev). Yeltsin's successor, Vladimir Putin—who closely follows public-opinion polls and adjusts his policies accordingly—began on assuming office to apply pressure on Ukraine and other nations of the so-called "near abroad" in order to bring them back into the fold. To this end he has employed a variety of devices, including economic and military intimidation, the military form exerted through Russian army contingents which Moscow, in violation of its pledges, refuses to withdraw. In some regions, notably Georgia, such imperialist policies have led to enduring tension.

In Ukraine, Moscow has relied on several groups that share a common interest in maintaining close links between the two countries. One of them is the bureaucracy, which dreads democratic forces and seeks support to keep them down. There are also the so-called "oligarchs," wealthy industrialists with their base in eastern Ukraine. And last but not least are the Russians who dominate the industrial regions in the east and instinctively gravitate toward Moscow rather than Kiev.

In the past decade, Kuchma has formed something of a tacit alliance with the Kremlin, the main result of which has been political and economic stagnation. In the words of Ukrainian political scientist Alexander Vydrin:

> During the ten years of his presidency, Kuchma has failed to fulfill a single point of his electoral campaign: neither the development of local self-government, nor territorial-administrative reform . . . nor the struggle against the oligarchs, nor the solution of the language problem, nor the issues of social justice. All problems have remained unresolved. They were all frozen. Kuchma is a marvelous specialist in the art of freezing problems. This is one of the fundamental causes of the political crisis experienced by today's Ukraine.

The event that brought this lingering crisis to a head was the presidential election. Yushchenko is no novice to politics. He served as prime minister from 1999 to 2001, giving his country its own currency and implementing a number of constructive economic measures. He is mistrusted, however, by the Ukrainian apparatchiks as well as the oligarchs, in part because they perceive him as a dangerous populist reformer and in part because they suspect him of pro-Western sympathies. Some of Yushchenko's supporters have, indeed, talked of joining NATO. It does not help that his wife was born in the United States, which has led to ludicrous charges that she has CIA links.

Ukraine is undergoing a revolution in the true sense of the word—the first in any of the Soviet successor states but probably not the last.

The establishment much prefers Yanukovych, a bland bureaucrat unlikely to ruffle any feathers. His power base lies in eastern and southern Ukraine, industrial and mining regions with sizable Russian populations. The recent presidential election was manipulated in his favor by pro-Moscow elements in order to ensure that Ukraine remains close to Moscow and stays politically and economically "frozen."

An extraordinary feature of the Ukrainian political crisis has been the outpouring of mass support for Yushchenko. In Russia, such mass involvement has been virtually unknown: All decisions affecting the country's politics have been settled by small elites with a minimum of popular participation. Although many of the demonstrations in Kiev and other eastern and central cities were not so much spontaneous as organized by Yushchenko's camp, they undoubtedly reflect genuine popular outrage at the establishment's violation of democratic rights. Ukraine is undergoing a revolution in the true sense of the word—the first in any of the Soviet successor states but probably not the last.

This prospect is what worries the Russian establishment. Putin, normally very cautious, has intervened directly in Ukrainian affairs with a view to ensuring Yanukovych's election. He did so even as he warned the Western powers to stay out. The Russian press reflects the frustration of the Russian authorities at the prospect of Ukraine's slipping out of control and drawing closer to the West. According to the BBC, the daily *Rossiiskaia gazeta* is frightened by the possibility of democracy's triumph in Ukraine, lest it spread elsewhere: "Russia cannot afford to allow defeat in the battle for Ukraine. Besides everything else, defeat would mean velvet revolutions in the next two years, now following the Kiev variant, in Belarus, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and possibly Armenia." *Pravda* perceives an even greater and more direct threat, namely to Russia herself: "Now these same [Western] forces are striving to yoke Ukraine and Belarus, in order then to gain complete control of Moscow. Complete control! They are no longer pretending to hide it . . ."

Facing the prospect of new elections later this month and Yushchenko's almost certain victory, the pro-Moscow forces are considering two measures. One is to weaken the office of the president by transferring some of his constitutional powers to parliament—a bill to this effect has been submitted by Kuchma. The other is to threaten a breakup of Ukraine by having the pro-Russian eastern and southern regions declare "autonomy," i.e., secede.

The latter course, tempting as it may appear to Moscow, would be very damaging to its interests and hence is unlikely to be pursued. For if the regions with heavy Russian presence were to separate themselves, Russia would lose whatever influence she has over Ukraine's central and western regions. The latter would inexorably move toward closer relations with the West, especially neighboring Poland, a member of NATO and the European Union. It would surely be a Pyrrhic victory.

The Ukrainian revolution is a most heartening phenomenon. The fear expressed by some Russians that it may affect other parts of the "near abroad" is probably justified—and welcome. For in the long run it may spill into Russia as well, infecting her with the virus of liberty now sorely missing. **NR**

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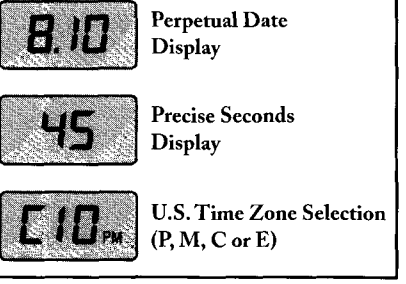

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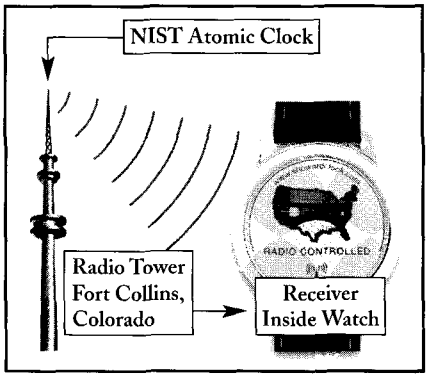

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■ WASHINGTON

See No Evil

Illegal aliens and the specter of another 9/11

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

TRY this thought experiment:

It is December 2005. The immigration-reform bill that was supposed to incorporate the stricter provisions on illegal immigrants omitted from the 2004 intelligence-reform bill—including a provision forbidding states to issue them driver's licenses—was published a week ago. It contained no such provisions. But it did contain what the White House again denied was an "amnesty" for illegal immigrants.

This story was driven from the front page very quickly, however. Forty-eight hours later, four American airliners were shot down with missiles over Midwestern cities, and almost 700 passengers were killed. In one case three terrorists were apprehended fleeing the scene. FBI and police raids based on their interrogations led to no new arrests but uncovered documents hurriedly abandoned that indicated a nationwide terror network with plans to blow up dams and power stations. The cells were linked not by the Internet—which the terrorists apparently distrusted as capable of being infiltrated—but by a system of couriers using automobiles rather than risking airport checkpoints.

In the following days, 14 such couriers were tracked down and arrested on the basis of information retrieved from their hideouts. All but two were illegal immigrants; all had legally-issued driver's licenses; and one had some of the components for a nuclear warhead in his car. Yesterday, impeachment proceedings against the president . . .

The above scenario is, of course, implausible. Why would the terrorists avoid the airports when the civil-rights sections of the Justice and Transportation departments have made them and the airlines perfectly safe for terrorists? As Heather Mac Donald points out in a superb article in *City Journal*—"Homeland Security? Not Yet"—the U.S. government is not merely lax in enforcing sensible precautions against further hijackings; every granny who has been groped while young Middle Easterners flit unmolested through the screening knows that. What Mac Donald further establishes is that the executive is strongly proactive in preventing others, notably the airlines, from defending public safety as best they can. In particular, the Transportation department has launched several lawsuits against airlines because pilots had banned passengers they thought were security risks. It was more concerned that these exclusions might have been prompted in part by racial profiling than it was about the safety of passengers. Airlines are now paying fines and fees to instruct their staff in the dangers of profiling.

It's not just the airlines. Earlier this year Asa Hutchinson, the Department of Homeland Security's man in charge of border security, shut down a border-patrol initiative to catch illegal aliens. Reason? It was catching too many illegal aliens.

In northern Vermont, DHS border-patrol agents have to release people sneaking in from Canada illegally because they have no space to detain them and cannot deport them without a legal hearing. Last May, illegal aliens from Malaysia, Pakistan, Morocco, Uganda, and India were released without bond. They are now at large in the U.S.

My own favorite: An al-Qaeda website noted in 2002 that only 5 percent of the people and goods crossing the U.S.-Mexican border are inspected. Added the thoughtful terrorist-website editor: "These are figures that really call for contemplation."

Not in the U.S. government, they don't. As we know from the GOP's internal struggles over the intelligence bill, the refusal to think about them extends right up to the White House. The president himself was plainly determined to exclude the illegal-alien provisions from the bill. Nor will they be included in anything like their present form in some future legislation. The present delay is meant to be fatal. No White House engages in a bitter fight with its own congressional supporters merely in order to delay legal reforms for one year.

The underlying reality is that the political elite is still more worried about the supposed bigotry of the American people than about national security. That seemed likely to change after 9/11; but as the real examples of official behavior above demonstrate, normal disservice was quickly resumed. Homeland security in these circumstances is a displacement activity, rather like kicking the dog because you cannot answer back to your boss. It consists of rituals that will not seriously prevent a new terrorist attack, such as airport procedures, while avoiding practical steps that would do so, such as border security with quick and easy deportation rules. And it sets both rituals and precautions in a straitjacket of anti-discrimination correctness. The intelligence bill itself is a perfect example of this.

The bill began as the child of the 9/11 commission's report. The report gives a very clear and interesting narrative of the events that led up to 9/11; a plausible but questionable analysis of its causes; and a reasonable but dubious set of policy prescriptions that do not always follow from either the narrative or the analysis. To oversimplify: It produces two kinds of nonsense—"virgin birth" proposals unrelated to the analysis, and powerful analysis resulting in no proposals.

Thus, the report's main proposal is that the nation's intelligence services should be centralized under one mighty intelligence czar. It is not quite correct to say that this proposal stems from *nowhere* in the report. It is supposedly rooted in the finding that the different intelligence agencies failed to coordinate information from different sources so that they could see the overall pattern of a growing terrorist threat. But this failure often occurred *within the same agency* as well as between agencies. At the time, indeed, different agencies were actually forbidden to share much relevant information. And failure to share information was only one of many intelligence failures revealed in the report. So the proposal for an intelligence czar does not follow from a balanced reading of the report.

Worse, common sense suggests that centralizing intelligence would be a positively bad idea. Imagine, for instance, a proposal to centralize American journalism under one editor. Yes, it would reduce duplication, save resources, and prevent the publication of much false and mis-

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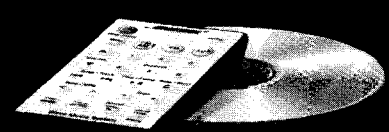

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leading information. But it would also ensure that much valuable information never saw the light of day. And if false information were published, it would be nearly impossible to get it corrected. Competition is a much better way of arriving at the truth because it has a built-in method of self-correction. So the report would have been on much firmer ground if it had suggested internal competition between intelligence bureaucracies in an atmosphere of greater transparency so that external criticism could analyze major discrepancies in any findings.

Still more interesting (and alarming) is the vital 9/11 finding that led nowhere. The report defined America's enemy as "Islamist terrorism" but thereafter made no proposals whatsoever based upon that definition. Why? Almost any such proposal would have conflicted with the anti-discrimination mindset that hobbles all policy. There were, however, some proposals that were at least congruent with this finding—namely, those on illegal immigration. Such proposals were not merely in the report; they were there in bold. And they were also in the original House version of the intelligence bill.

But as soon as these proposals became "controversial" (i.e., seemed to suggest that illegal immigration might be a threat to security), everything changed. Bush began a campaign to remove them. The media supported their removal on the confusing grounds that the bill must be passed without amendment. And the authors of the report—who until then had been rampaging around America demanding the report, the whole report, and nothing but the report—suddenly lobbied against their own proposals. Thus, the 9/11 commission chairman and vice-chairman, former governor Thomas Kean and former congressman Lee Hamilton respectively, wrote to the House and Senate negotiators: "We believe that this bill is not the right occasion for tackling controversial immigration and law enforcement issues that go well beyond the commission's recommendation."

Let me translate: America will continue to treat homeland security as a displacement activity until the next time thousands of innocent people are murdered.

And perhaps even after that. **NR**

■ **AT WAR**

GI Janes, By Stealth

The Army tries to pull a fast one

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

THE U.S. Army is quietly making a radical change in its personnel policy that may well see the 3rd Infantry Division redeploy to Iraq early next year with mixed-sex support companies collocated with combat units. The move violates not only Defense Department regulations, but also the requirement to notify Congress when such a change goes into effect.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the military opened a number of specialties to women, permitting them to serve on the Navy's fighting ships and to fly Navy and Air Force combat aircraft. There were several reasons for this. First, some military women—mostly officers and pilots—and their civilian supporters argued that women could never attain the highest levels of command unless they had the opportunity to serve in combat. Second, there was widespread acceptance of the view that technological advances had completely "changed the nature of war": Emerging technologies and "information dominance" would reduce the risks inherent in warfighting. If this were the case, why did we need these old restrictions that hampered the progress of women? As former congresswoman Pat Schroeder famously remarked, a woman can push a button just as easily as a man.

Even so, women continued to be excluded from units that engaged in direct ground combat. This prohibition extended to the support units that were collocated with these forces as well.

The indefatigable Elaine Donnelly of the Center for Military Readiness has discovered that the Army has surreptitiously begun to violate these regulations without advising Congress, which requires notification of any changes to policy within 30 legislative days, and when both houses are in session. Unfortunately, Ms. Donnelly's longtime commitment to the combat effectiveness of the military is often not matched by that of the very leaders who are responsible for ensuring it. As she has illustrated time and again, no branch of the military is completely free of political correctness.

Right now, for example, the Army is beginning to implement an innovative structural reorganization designed to make its new "units of action" (UAs) more rapidly deployable while maintaining a high degree of lethality. One of the factors enhancing the effectiveness of the original UA concept was that support troops would be collocated with maneuver battalions 100 percent of the time—essentially becoming an organic part of the direct ground-combat units. But if such a forward-support company (FSC) is part of a maneuver battalion, current Defense Department policy says that it cannot include women.

So Army commanders have simply transferred FSCs from the maneuver battalions into "gender-integrated" brigade-support battalions, thereby avoiding the requirement to report the policy change to Congress. Of course, no matter where the FSCs appear on a table of organization, the fact is, they will live and work with the maneuver battalions all the time.

In a letter to Rep. Duncan Hunter, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Ms. Donnelly argues that such an incremental alteration constitutes a slippery slope that will lead to radical changes for all land-combat units, starting with the reconnaissance, surveillance, and target-acquisition (RSTA) squadrons of the Army's Stryker combat teams, and ending with Special Operations forces, and maybe even the Marine Corps.

The Army's defense of its actions has been disingenuous. On one hand, the Army claimed in May that there were "insufficient male soldiers in the Army

Mr. Owens is a professor of national security affairs at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I., and a Marine infantry veteran of Vietnam. In 1998, he testified before the Congressional Commission on Training and Gender-Related Issues.

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What You Must Believe To Be a Good Liberal Catholic

· Priestly pederasty and homosexuality are inevitable because priests aren't allowed to marry.

· Jesus did not choose any women to be His Twelve Disciples because He was a victim of cultural conditioning by sexist pigs.

· Pope John Paul II's prohibition of women priests can't be authoritative because he's a man, a Pole, and a very old Polish man at that.

· Those who expose the misdeeds of conservative priests and bishops are courageous and prophetic.

· Those who expose the misdeeds of liberal priests and bishops are troublemakers and vigilantes.

· The younger generation of so-called orthodox priests are rigid and intolerant, and should never have been ordained.

· Traditional sex roles are artificial and culturally determined.

· Homosexuality is natural and genetically determined.

· We need less papal intervention in the affairs of national and local churches.

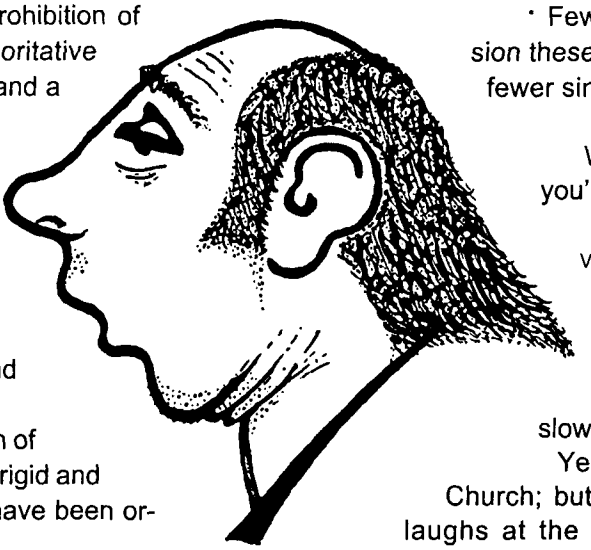
· We need more federal intervention in the affairs of states, cities, and private organizations.

· AIDS is caused by insufficient federal funding and the Church's pig-headed opposition to condoms.

· If Jesus Christ had only pursued the path of dialogue with the Jewish leaders, instead of denouncing them, He would never have been crucified and there would never have been 20 centuries of anti-Semitism.

· Fewer Catholics go to Mass these days because there's too much Gregorian chant and Latin in the liturgy.

· Fewer Catholics go to Confession these days because they commit fewer sins.



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to fill forward support companies," and therefore it "cannot support elimination of female soldiers from all units designated to be UA elements." But if the Army knew about this back in May, why didn't it ask Congress for more recruits at the time? One cannot escape the conclusion that the Army's position appears to be that we don't have enough young men to fight our wars, so women must be integrated into fighting units by subterfuge and sleight-of-hand.

But then, on the other hand, an Army spokesman recently told Rowan Scarborough of the *Washington Times* that the policy of prohibiting women from serving in units supporting ground-combat formations is outdated. Today, said the spokesman, the threat is "asymmetrical . . . There is no front-line threat right now" since all soldiers, support or combat, face rocket, mortar, and roadside-bomb attacks, as well as ambushes.

This is arrant nonsense. I'm sure the soldiers and Marines who just took Fallujah would beg to differ with those who claim there is "no front line" in Iraq. The threat they and the support troops collocated with them faced as they carried out their mission of "closing with and destroying the enemy" was qualitatively different from that of support troops not so collocated. Putting women into the vortex of combat so vividly illustrated by the savage fighting in Fallujah would undermine the effectiveness of our ground-combat units by undercutting the unit cohesion critical to achieving victory in war.

Despite recent attempts to redefine it, unit cohesion in combat is far more than mere teamwork. Cohesion arises from the bond among disparate individuals who have nothing in common but facing death and misery. This bond is akin to what the Greeks called *philia*—friendship, comradeship, or brotherly love.

Despite claims to the contrary, there is substantial evidence that the presence of women in a combat environment fragments unit cohesion. The first reason is traceable to the fact that men and women have radically different bodies. For instance, the female soldier is, on average, about five inches shorter than the male soldier, has half the upper-body strength, lower aerobic capacity, and 37 percent less muscle mass. She has a lighter skeleton, which leads to a higher incidence of structural injuries than for men. She also tends, particularly if she is under the age of 30 (as are 60 percent of military personnel), to get pregnant.

These differences have had an adverse impact on U.S. military effectiveness. Women are four times more likely to report ill, and the percentage of women being medically non-available at any time is twice that of men. If a woman can't do her job, someone else must do it for her. Only 10 percent of women can meet all of the minimum physical requirements for 75 percent of the jobs in the Army. Women may be able to drive five-ton trucks, but need a man's help if they must change the tires. Women can be assigned to a field artillery unit, but often can't handle the ammunition.

The second reason that the presence of women in a combat environment increases friction is that the mixing of the sexes leads to the introduction of *eros* into an environment based on *philia*. Unlike *philia*, *eros* is individual and exclusive, manifesting itself as sexual competition, male protectiveness, and favoritism.

Those who deny the impact of *eros* on unit cohesion are kidding themselves. As the eminent military sociologist Charles Moskos has commented, "When you put men and women together in a confined environment and shake vigorously, don't be surprised if sex occurs." Mixing the sexes and thereby introducing *eros* creates the most dangerous form of friction in the military, corroding the very source of military excellence itself: the male bonding necessary to unit cohesion.

Feminists, of course, contend that these manifestations of *eros* are the result only of a lack of education and insensitivity to women, and can be eradicated by means of education and indoctrination. But all the social engineering in the world cannot change the real differences between men and women, or the natural tendency of men to treat women differently than they do other men. Unfortunately, far too many senior U.S. military leaders have bought into the idea that men and women are interchangeable and that future war will be neat and tidy. Fallujah suggests otherwise. What is the Army leadership thinking by tempting nature in the midst of war? **NR**

■ **ACTIVISM**

Freedom Fighter

Meet the 'very focused, and tough' Nina Shea

MEGHAN CLYNE

"No bullets, no lies—you can't hide; it's genocide!" Back in August, on a sweltering Washington day, roughly 50 people picketed in front of Sudan's embassy. They had assembled to denounce the Khartoum government and its grotesque human-rights abuses in Darfur. The noontime demonstration had been a daily routine on Massachusetts Avenue since late June; every Friday, an act of civil disobedience was staged. On this particular day, a Catholic priest would be arrested in solidarity with the Sudanese.

Shortly after 12:30, a blonde wearing shades strolled confidently up to the protesters. She greeted the organizers, conversed with clergymen in attendance, and then, before a crowd grown silent, delivered a damning account of Khartoum's atrocities. She urged divestment from oil companies funding Gen. Omar Bashir's reign of terror, and called for Sudan's removal from the U.N. Human Rights Commission. With her remarks concluded, and the priest locked away in the paddy wagon, the protesters began to disband; she mingled with the lingering ones, discussing the crisis.

Sound exhausting? For Nina Shea, it's all in a day's work.

Shea is the director of the Center for Religious Freedom (part of Freedom House, America's oldest human-rights group), and vice chairman of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. She is not your stereotypical "human-rights activist": no leftist hunger-striking protester here. Shea is

Meghan Clyne is a reporter at the *New York Sun*.

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impassioned yet savvy, an experienced legal mind, and a symbol of how the quest for worldwide human rights and religious freedom is increasingly the purview of the right-leaning. She is known especially for her advocacy in behalf of Christians (rare within the human-rights establishment); in 1997, Shea's first book, *In the Lion's Den*, won her recognition from *Newsweek* for "making Christian persecution Washington's hottest cause." Indeed, it was Christianity that prompted Shea to work for human rights in the first place: "I'm a Catholic, and I see it as my vocation."

This inspiration explains Shea's intense, and long, commitment to her cause. A native of Pennsylvania, educated at Smith College and American University's School of Law, Shea initially pursued traditional law-firm practice before finding fulfillment in human-rights law. Her first client was the great Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov; next were the *desaparecidos* in El Salvador, then Romanian family-reunification cases, then South Africa—and Nicaragua. It was her exposé of the Sandinistas, and the ensuing backlash from the American Left, that turned Shea away from her liberal-Democratic politics and the International League for Human Rights. In 1986 she married writer and editor Adam Meyerson (they have three children) and helped establish the Puebla Institute—which evolved into the Center for Religious Freedom, and merged with Freedom House in 1995. Throughout Shea's career, the scope of her work has known no limit: She has fought in behalf of religious minorities nearly everywhere, from the Falun Gong in China to Muslim dissidents in Iran.

And for nearly everyone in Sudan, one of Shea's most heavily targeted oppressor regimes. Now, because of Darfur, Sudan has finally captured the world's attention; Shea, however, had been a vociferous critic of General Bashir's regime long before the current crisis. She was on the case during his first murderous campaign, against black Christians and animists in the south, where some 2 million died and another 5 million were displaced.

During that genocide, Shea cobbled together a coalition of religious and other leaders united in seeking an end to the atrocities. She testified several times before Congress, and took her case to the Clinton White House, where she met resistance on what administration officials had designated a "backburner issue." Undeterred, she wrote in 1998 an attention-grabbing op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* documenting Khartoum's jihad against non-Muslims and pleading for the world to end its indifference. Shea found an important ally in George W. Bush; under his leadership, "one thing led to another," and peace protocols halting the violence were finally signed in June.

Shea's longtime attention to Sudan helped with the early classification of the Darfur situation—as another genocide. She was instrumental in bringing the slaughter there to the attention of American policymakers and international human-rights organizations. The results have been historic: In September, Colin Powell declared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "evidence leads us to the conclusion that genocide has occurred and may still be occurring in Darfur." According to Shea, it was the first time a party to the 1948 Genocide Convention had "formally charged another party with 'genocide'

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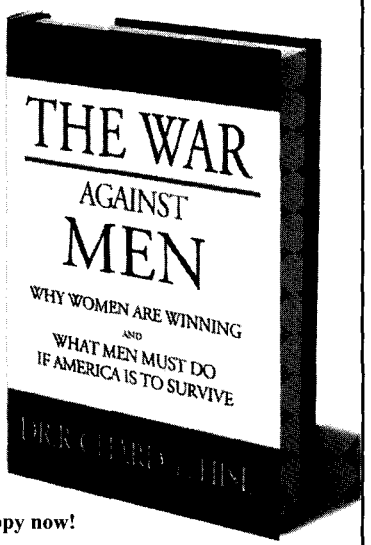

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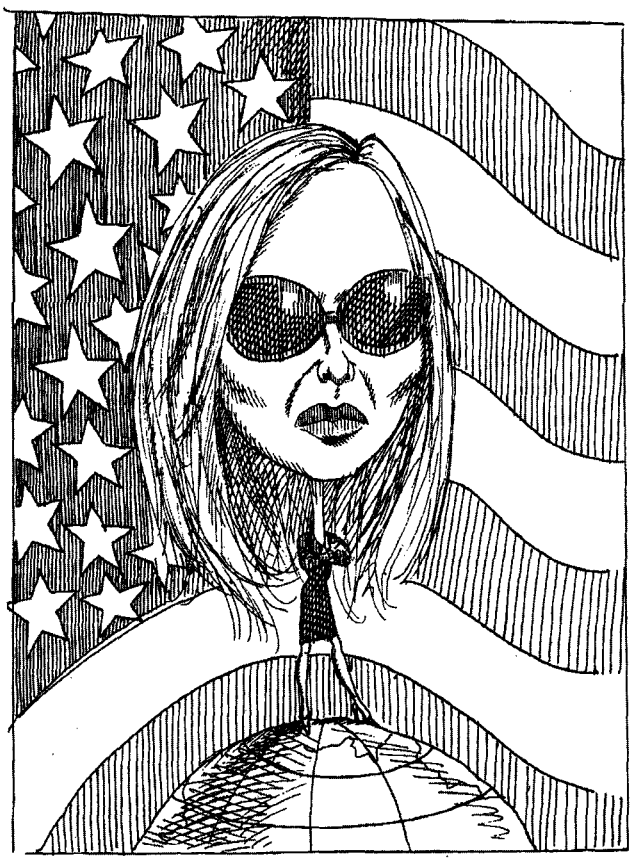
and invoked the convention's provisions while genocide has been in progress."

While Darfur has loomed large in recent months, it has hardly been Shea's only priority: She has also worked doggedly to ensure the protection of religious minorities under the new Iraqi constitution. On that same afternoon—barely an hour after her Sudan-embassy speech—Shea meets with Eden Naby, an Assyrian Christian and an advocate for the ChaldoAssyrian community.

That community is not faring well. Under Saddam Hussein, many Iraqi Christians were exiled and killed; while the removal of the Baathist regime led to some immediate improvements, these Christians have a long way to go before attaining real security and freedom. Because they are concentrated in the north of Iraq, they face oppression especially from the Kurds, who see the Assyrians as a threat to their territorial control. The abduction of ChaldoAssyrian women is commonplace, the destruction is widespread—and government leaders disavow the brutality while secretly supplying those who perpetrate it.

The plight of Iraq's religious minorities is a familiar subject for Shea. Last fall, when she and her colleagues saw that the first draft of the Iraqi constitution lacked any provision for religious freedom in its bill of rights, "we almost dropped dead," Shea recalls, well aware of what unprotected religious minorities endure in extremist Muslim societies. So they worked through Senate offices—especially with Republicans Rick Santorum and Sam Brownback—to push for religious protections for individuals. But the constitution's second draft included only group rights, which, in the Middle East, are little better than none at all: "For Muslims, it means that the only people who really have rights . . . to religious freedom are the clergy." Finally, on the third round, at the last minute, Shea & Co. succeeded in having individual religious rights enshrined in Iraqi law.

Still, the struggle for religious freedom in Iraq is ongoing. So Shea listens to Naby attentively, offering tips for getting her cause on U.S. officials' agendas—from writing about the situation to speaking before a Senate committee. "What we try to do," Shea explains, "is rely on the facts that are provided to us from trusted groups that we work with. And then our 'value added' is that we have contacts and experience in official Washington to try to raise the profiles of these issues . . . to give [these groups] help in advancing their causes, by strategizing with them."



Nina Shea

ROMAN GENN

Often it is an uphill battle. The Hudson Institute's Michael Horowitz, who has worked extensively with Shea, says there is an institutional bias in the Washington foreign-policy establishment that shuns this kind of sustained commitment to human rights. "The drill is: sign a piece of paper, declare victory, move on to the next issue"—with protections of religious freedom often sacrificed in the process. Shea points to the constitution of Afghanistan as an example: "Religious freedom was never guaranteed in that bill of rights; and now Afghan Muslims are being, and have been, arrested under the Karzai government for blasphemy."

Shea sees extreme Islam—especially as manifested in the state-imposed application of sharia law—as one of the largest threats to religious freedom worldwide (along with persecution in the remaining Communist regimes, particularly China and Vietnam). A few months ago, Shea and Center for Religious Freedom senior fellow Paul Marshall completed a book (*Radical Islam's Rules: The Worldwide Spread of Extreme Sharia Law*, to be released early next year) documenting sharia's abuses in seven Muslim countries. They are also attentive to radical Islam here: The center recently concluded a study of pamphlets circulated in mosques throughout the United States bearing the official stamp of the Saudi government—documents disseminating hate and promoting intolerance among America's Muslims.

In her ongoing struggle against this extremist Islam and other manifestations of religious persecution, Shea has developed a reputation for her knowledge and reliability. Virginia representative Frank Wolf calls her "very focused, and tough" (citing her success in getting the religious-freedom commission formed—over the objections of many in the business community—as an example). Barrett Duke, a member of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission—which recently awarded Shea its John Leland religious-freedom prize—says that having Shea join his efforts in behalf of North Korean religious freedom "automatically advanced the cause."

Duke gives some of the credit to Shea's effectiveness, which, he says, engenders respect in America's halls of power: "Nina works within the parameters that government allows, but she's not afraid to speak out against government intransigence." Part of her success, he says, comes from "knowing when to

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play along, and knowing when to put her foot down. She does that superbly, and this is why she's as effective as she is, and why government officials still listen to her." In addition to Shea's shrewdness, Duke also lauds the depth of her commitment, a sentiment echoed by New Jersey representative Christopher Smith, vice chairman of the House Committee on International Relations. He recounts how when—in his view—the Clinton administration "sold out the best and the brightest in China," Shea was "sick at heart."

In the course of Smith's work on China, the dissident Wei Jingsheng told him, "The stronger and more clear you are on human rights, the less we get beaten in prison. They do respect strength." Shea's strength in support of human rights is respected worldwide; she is crystal clear on the non-negotiability of religious freedom—and, says Horowitz, of getting the political establishment to recognize it as "a core element of freedom itself." **NR**

■ **ESSAY**

The True Sprit of Chrismas*

ALOÏSE BUCKLEY HEATH

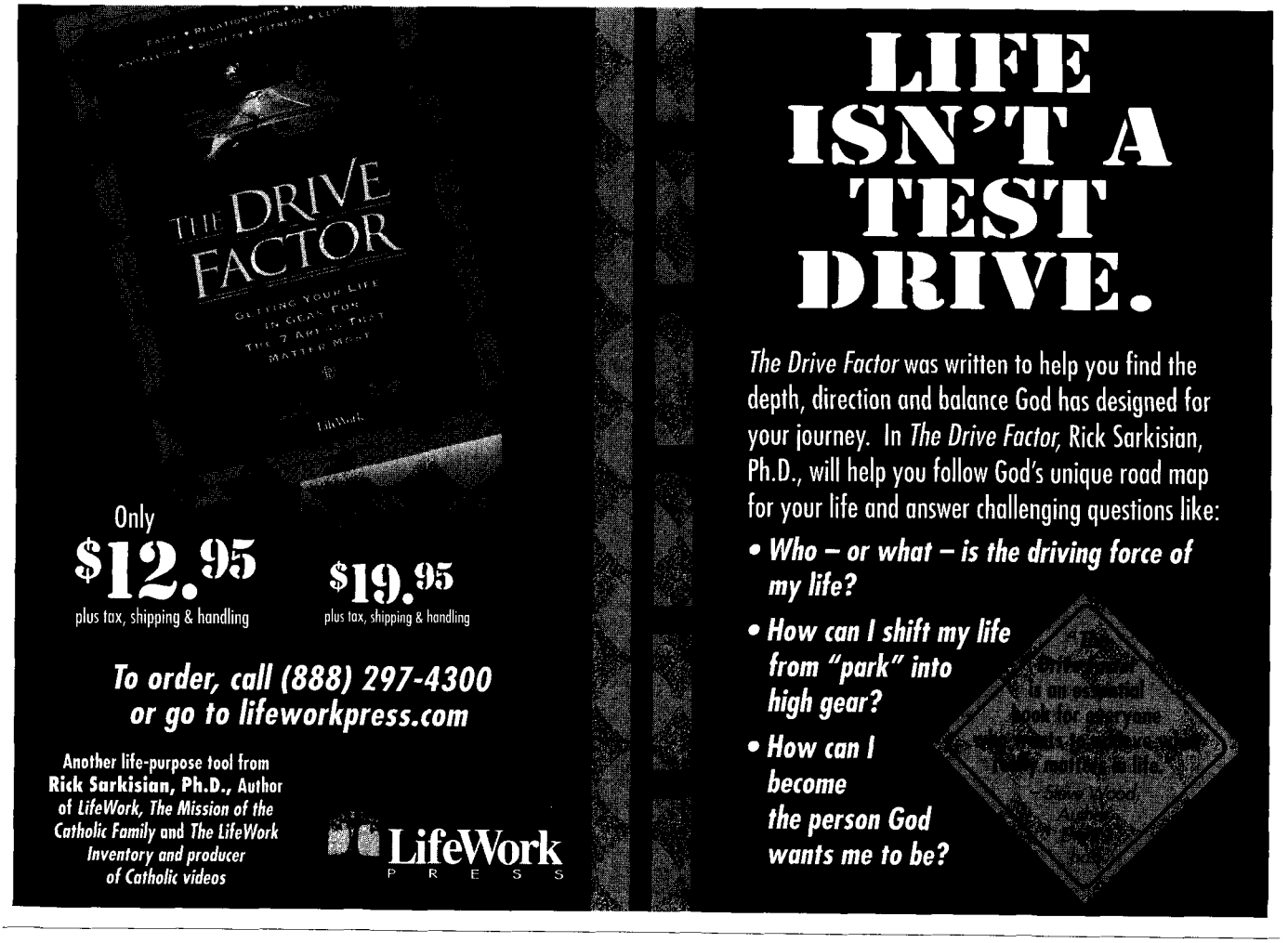
MANY persons our ages of 12, 10, 8, 6 think the Sprit of Chrismas is about toys and presents instead of about the real sprit. These persons are immature and childless. As will be seen.

Today at Assembly, everybody got a copy and got read to, the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which turned out it was the Chrismas present from the United Nations to all the children in the world, also which Pam, 12, and John, 10, have to write down about constructively, and Priscilla, 8, and Buckley, 6, be prepared to explane in there own words by Monday. This is our free-thinking thoughts, for nothing is black and white but grey.

The first part, before the Principles start, is very oratory and good except for puctuation (commas not periods after paragraphs) and reptitous (absolutely 5 paragraphs in a row begin with "Whereas"). Persons that are always tearing down, tearing down would probbly mock this instead of saying the United Nations did pretty good, spelling the long words this composition is absolutely full of.

PRINCIPLE 1: *All children shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property, birth, or other sta-*

***Composed by Pamela, John, Priscilla, and, sometimes, Buckley Heath; Typed by There Mother**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The Drive Factor was written to help you find the depth, direction and balance God has designed for your journey. In The Drive Factor, Rick Sarkisian, Ph.D., will help you follow God's unique road map for your life and answer challenging questions like:
• Who – or what – is the driving force of my life?
• How can I shift my life from "park" into high gear?
• How can I become the person God wants me to be?

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tus whether of himself or of his family. Those who think will easly see that who their talking about is none other but the U.S. of America (world smelting pot), for in other countries from us (Europe, England, Russia, Wildest Africa, etc. etc. etc.) there isn't enough different population from the main to do discrimination at. (Except by inmost feelings, hard to wipe out, unforch.)

Why do they drag in sex, one asks ourself? Because the United Nations regard sex purely, like dictionaries, where sex is if you are a boy or a girl (you can look it up)—not the reason children are not allowed to see practicly every movie in the whole world. It is a well-none fact that most parents comitt discrimination on children by sex (by wether they are male sex or female sex, other words.) Ex:—: Sataday mornings, boys (M. sex) have to clean out cars in a icecold subzero gerage, wile girls (F. sex) only have to vacume warm & cozy carpets. And yet again about color (sometimes meening race, but they already said race in this PRINCIPLE so they now meen color.); Why? Because, Ex:—: Some persons, who dirt shows on more than other persons because of there snow whitecolor, are all the time getting it in the neck (like parents saying: "Good God, your angkles"!! venial sin) when that happens to be the exact night one washed *with soap*! All this shall end.

One thing the United Nations forgot:—: discrimination by age, like:—Ex:—In 2 years, could Pam, now age 12 drive a car in S. Carolina? Yes!! In Conn.? No!! Could Jim, our brother of 14, marry Linda who he loves in India? Yes!! In Conn.? No!! Showing that the U.N. forgot the main thing the child get's discriminated for. BUT: after all: nobidies perfect:

PRINCIPLE 2 (really getting going): *The child shall enjoy special protection and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually, and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity.* Their going to start some laws, and unless quite a few parents wise up, we happen to know quite a few parents (including by marrage) that will end up incarserated. Because when the U.N. finds out, surely soon, that every single child in the world spends absolutely the best years of his life from infantry to adultery sitting on a hard seat, bending his head over books that is rooning his eyes and with the most absolutely boaring stuff poaring, poaring, poaring into his ears. At the same time when they breathe *in* constantly sniffing germs of namonia, chicken pocks, nefritus so they practicly only dare breathe *out* (practicly impossible):—all of which contrary to health and freedom:—then the U.N. will edict that this situation must CEACE!

PRINCIPLE 3: *The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.* This is also in the Sprit of Chrismas because it portects children from being called Blooper and Kiki even when big,

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which can become absolutely humalating. Ex:—When John was born our brother Jim was 4 (dificult age) and Jim liked our Uncle Reid so he absolutely made every one call John "Uncle Reid" after him (Uncle Reid). Funny then, but how would John feel nowadays if Mrs. McLeod said in class: "Uncle Reid, suppose you take the next passage?" Like a fool. PRINCIPLE 3 also portects people from the fate of Philip Nolan, who had to live on boats and not have a nationality for having got mad at the Government once, tho not till grown-up. But children's fate, through the passage of years is to become grown-up or else dead. So look before you leap, which the U.N. does.

PRINCIPLE 4: *The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow up and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate prenatal and postnatal care.* This sounds like mostly for Mothers, but *think, think*, just exactly where would children be without prenatal Mothers? NOWHERE. And prenatal Fathers are not so absolutely necessary. The first Nowell would have been in a sanidary, recently-modern hospital if people had only had the U.N. then. The Massacre of the Holy Innocents would be absolutely an object of forbiddance and mortal sin, under penalty of the law.

PRINCIPLE 5: *The child who is physically, mentally, or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education, and care required by his particular condition.* In the intersts of the questioning mind, one has to admit that this principle is hard: because:—"physically handicapped" means crippled and those children, they say, have to go to special schools for crippled children:—"mentally handicapped" means retarded, and those children have to go to special schools for retarded children:—"socially handicapped" means Negro in the South, but, as is well-known, those children have to come *out* of special schools for Negro children in the South. Does that make sense for physicals and mentals to go in yet for socials to come out? Not that who are we to critisise, never less, may be grown-ups should clarify there thinking on the topic.

PRINCIPLE 6: *The child, for the full and harmonious development of his full personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security.* Payment of state and other assistance to ward the maintenance of children of families is desirable. This one may seem to say a lot of things one already knew, like "love and understanding," etc. etc. etc., but the important thing after all, is that it is still on the side of children, other words: Sprit of Chrismas. One may well ask ourself, although, about assisting (paying) people of large families (personally in our favor), which if they do, they have to make there mind up about populations exploding. For, besides the joys of parenthood, if you get paid too, where will it all end?

PRINCIPLE 7: *The child shall be given an education which will promote his general culture and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities.*

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The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which shall be directed to the same purposes as education. It is hard to see how the U.N. missed the things wrong in this, unless there wrist was getting tired from writting. *Wrong thing No. A*:—There absolutely just isn't anything equal in people's opportunity to learn culture that would be general. Like in West Hartford, U.S.A., culture is French, Mythology, Music, Hiawatha, and things like that but in Wildest Africa culture is Hunting lions, Shrinking heads, Building huts of clay and wattles made, and things like that, none of which there is any of in West Hartford. (Even if there was some way this could be arranged, it would not be very fair to Wildest Africa children.) *Wrong thing No. B*:—(the part about play and recreation). Unforch, as even the dumbest know, play and recreation that is directed always turns out into one thing:—RELAY RACES.

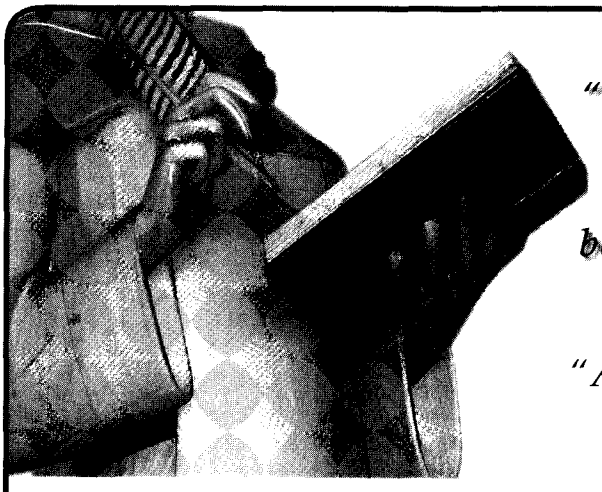
PRINCIPLE 8: *The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.* Vere dignum et justum est. (Altarboy's joke by John. Others, except priests, look it up.)

PRINCIPLE 9: *The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty, and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic in any form.* (It is a known fact that sometimes children run right strate across *without* looking *both* ways: *Think*: nothing is black and white: all is grey.) Next part: *The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age.* This is one of the most absolutely Sprit of Chrismaslike things the U.N. ever said in its life. For NOTE:—Employment means working for *money*. How far far worse indeed, therefore, is the involatory slavitude children have to do Satadays, not only for no money, but not getting their riteful allowance if they don't. This also shall be changed by law.

PRINCIPLE 10: *The child shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace, and universal brotherhood, in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.* These sweet and nobble words show how the Uniteds have even *improved* the Sprit of Chrismas. For in olden days, you were supposed to love your fellow men (even the ones you couldn't stand) yet use your energy and talents for you and yours, which you had to, the world being such a mess. In our day, you only have to have a sprit of tolerace, friendship, etc. etc. etc., and even that you only have among peopleS, much more practical than among peoplE, if you get our meaning (see letters we put in capitals). Also, the new laws of the Governments of the U.N. will take care of things like nutrition, housing, and other postnatal care of you and yours, so there will be nothing left to do except be devoted to the service of your fellow men.

Thus we see, the U.N. Declaration of Rights of the Child is in the true Sprit of Chrismas, and also cinchy. **NR**

A Christmas story by the late Aloïse Buckley Heath is an NR tradition.



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■ COVER ESSAY

Secularism and Its Discontents

The debate over religion and politics is in desperate need of sanity

RAMESH PONNURU

THE reelection of George W. Bush has provoked extensive debate, if not quite soul-searching, among liberals. For the most part, liberals have not fastened on the way foreign policy played out in the campaign, but on the way moral and religious issues did—even after the idea that the moral issues had a much larger impact in this election than in previous ones was largely debunked, and even though some of the debunkers were liberals attempting to deny any mandate for moral and religious conservatives. Some liberals have suggested that Democrats need to start speaking the language of faith, or at least of morals. More of them have denounced the backwardness of the religious conservatives who supported President Bush.

"The president got re-elected by dividing the country along fault lines of fear, intolerance, ignorance and religious rule," wrote Maureen Dowd on the day after the election. "W. ran a jihad in America so he can fight one in Iraq—drawing a devoted flock of evangelicals, or 'values voters,' as they call themselves, to the polls by opposing abortion, suffocating stem cell research and supporting a constitutional amendment against gay marriage."

The same day, her colleague Tom Friedman wrote: "[W]hat troubled me yesterday was my feeling that this election was tipped because of an outpouring of support for George Bush by people who don't just favor different policies than I do—they favor a whole different kind of America. . . . Mr. Bush's base is pushing so hard to legislate social issues and extend the boundaries of religion that it felt as if we were rewriting the Constitution, not electing a president."

But Garry Wills outdid both of these worthies:

> The secular states of modern Europe do not understand the fundamentalism of the American electorate. . . . [W]e now resemble those nations less than we do our putative enemies. Where else do we find fundamentalist zeal, a rage at secularity, religious intolerance, fear of and hatred for modernity? Not in France or Britain or Germany or Italy or Spain. We find it in the Muslim world, in Al Qaeda, in Saddam Hussein's Sunni loyalists. Americans wonder that the rest of the world thinks us so dangerous, so single-minded, so impervious to international appeals. They fear jihad, no matter whose zeal is being expressed.

And those were just the liberals who wrote in the *New York Times*. The same sentiments were expressed elsewhere. In *Salon*, Sidney Blumenthal called the post-election Senate majority "more theocratic than Republican." Robert Kuttner, one of the editors of *The American Prospect*, complained that Democrats had not "warned mainstream voters of the danger of a theocratic president whose base rejects modernity." House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi was slightly less strident, saying that the Republicans "dangerously blurred the line between church and state."

These comments cannot simply be dismissed as an eruption of rage by the losers of an election against the winners. They express, if sometimes in hyperbolic form, liberalism's habits and reflexes, which are themselves based on respectable ideas.

Here is Robert Reich, writing months before the election:

> The great conflict of the 21st century will not be between the West and terrorism. Terrorism is a tactic, not a belief. The true battle will be between modern civilization and anti-modernists; between those who believe in the primacy of the individual and those who believe that human beings owe their allegiance and identity to a higher authority; between those who give priority to life in this world and those who believe that human life is mere preparation for an existence beyond life; between those who believe in science, reason, and logic and those who believe that truth is revealed through Scripture and religious dogma. Terrorism will disrupt and destroy lives. But terrorism itself is not the greatest danger we face.

Few liberals are as hostile to conventional religious belief as Reich (or at least the Reich of that passage). Some liberals are religious themselves, and can presumably see that a belief in the political primacy of the individual is compatible with allegiance to God. But most liberals, including religious ones, do find Christian conservatism dangerous in a way that makes it similar in principle, if not in virulence, to the Taliban. Recall Anthony Lewis's December 2001 exit interview in the *New York Times*, in which he

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likened John Ashcroft to Osama bin Laden. Around the same time, three prominent Democratic strategists wrote a memo arguing that the war on "fundamentalism" would promote "tolerance" at the expense of Christian-conservative "fanaticism."

The idea that Christian conservatives and Islamofascists can be reasonably or fairly compared in this fashion is such a commonplace that people who propound it often do not seem to think that they are saying anything provocative. Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit wrote a (deservedly) well-reviewed book this year called *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*. They are full of insight about the hostility to cosmopolitan modernity so often found among the West's most intransigent critics. But here is how they end their book, in a passage that is reproduced on the back cover:

> The story we have told in this book is not a Manichaeistic one of a civilization at war with another. On the contrary, it is a tale of cross-contamination, the spread of bad ideas. This could happen to us now, if we fall for the temptation to fight fire with fire, Islamism with our own forms of intolerance. Religious authority, especially in the United States, is already having a dangerous influence on political governance. We cannot afford to close our societies as a defense against those who have closed theirs. For then we would all become Occidentalists, and there would be nothing left to defend.

THE MEANINGS OF SECULARISM

Conceptual clarity has not been a feature of the discussion of whether religion is having (or threatens to have) a dangerous influence on American government. People mean different things when they talk about "theocrats," "the separation of church and state," and "secularism." The word "secular" can describe both irreligion and neutrality about religion. Yet commentators often throw around these words and phrases as though they had single, uncontested meanings—or, worse, exploit the instability of the phrase for polemical purposes.

Did the Founders often observe that churches and governments are engaged in different enterprises? Well, then, they established a principle of "secularism"—which is then held to require a revision in the Pledge of Allegiance, or funding for human cloning. Religious conservatives have done their part to add to the confusion. They have said, some of them, that they "don't believe in the separation of church and state," that it's a "myth," that it "isn't in the Constitution." Christians who say these things generally mean to endorse one or more of the following propositions: The Constitution does not make Thomas Jefferson's understanding of the proper relationship between churches and governments mandatory; government may promote religion in some nonsectarian and non-coercive way; there is nothing wrong with voters' letting their religious beliefs influence their political views. They do not, generally, mean that the government should set itself up as a kind of church, or vice versa. They accept the ACLU definition of separation, and therefore reject separation. But liberals, and much of the public, understand the conservatives to be denying the importance of religious liberty. Vague terminology keeps people talking past one another.

It may be instructive to think about the wish list of Christian-conservative organizations involved in politics. They would generally prohibit abortion, and perhaps research that destroys human embryos. They would have the government refuse to accord legal standing to homosexual relationships. They would restrict pornography in various ways. They would have more prayer in the schools, and less evolution. They think that religious groups should be able to participate in federal programs without compromising their beliefs. They would replace sex education with abstinence education. They want the government to promote marital stability.

Perhaps you think that the ambitions of the religious Right go considerably beyond this list—although it would be amazing if it got all or even most of the items on it within the next 30 years. So let's assume that these groups also want things that most of them recognize as completely unattainable. An end to no-fault divorce. Bans on sodomy and contraception. The enforcement of laws against adultery. A revival of the old civil action for "alienation of affection."

It is not my purpose here to argue that this agenda, or even the relatively restrained version of it, is one we should wish to see enacted (or even allowed by the Supreme Court). My point, rather, is to note that introducing nearly every one of these policies—and all of the most conservative ones—would merely turn the clock back to the late 1950s. That may be a very bad idea, but the America of the 1950s was not a theocracy.

America at the time of its Founding was shockingly illiberal. Yet the country was not a theocracy like the Taliban's Afghanistan.

America at the time of its Founding was, by contemporary standards, including contemporary conservative standards, shockingly illiberal. States had established churches, supported with tax dollars. Most states had religious tests for office, the requirements varying by the state. Some states punished blasphemy; others imposed fines for irregular church attendance.

Yet the country was not a theocracy like the Taliban's Afghanistan. And while it may not be quite right to say that the country was founded on the principles of the Enlightenment, it was not founded on their rejection either. If the country had suffered an attack in 1827 like the one we suffered on September 11, there would have been, pace Buruma and Margalit, quite a lot to defend, including quite a lot of freedom. As there was in 1941. America's history as a free country does not begin in the 1960s. (Incidentally, the Islamists' spiritual forbears, such as Sayyid Qutb, hated us before then.)

One could certainly argue that what we now regard as the

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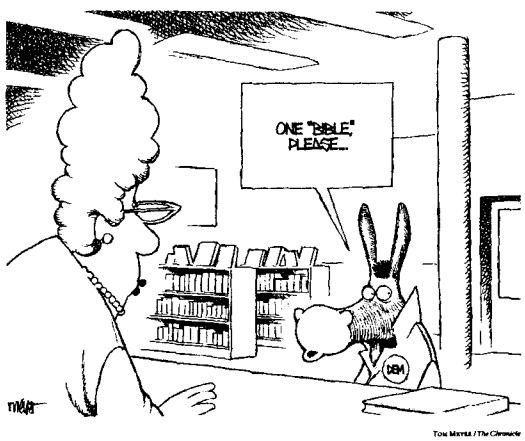
Founders' partial respect for religious freedom, and especially their decision not to establish a national church, had latent within it a tendency toward the modern liberal conception of religious freedom. On this view, we have come to an ever fuller understanding of what the freedom for which we signed up long ago really means. Perhaps the Supreme Court has a better understanding of the implications of the principles of the First Amendment than the one available to the Founders themselves, and is correct to enforce that better understanding.

But even if all of these propositions were conceded to the modern liberal, a lot of the sting of the charge that religious conservatives are "theocratic" would vanish. The president's supporters could not be said simply to have betrayed the Founders. At worst, they could be said only to have backslid on the work the Founders started. If there is a range of options between theocracy and the modern liberal version of church-state separation, then the accusation that anti-abortionists are theocrats is just political exaggeration. It should be taken no more seriously than the accusation that advocates of national health insurance are Communists.

The existence of that range, along with the possibility of gradual movement along it, suggests that the aims of our War on Terror should not include the immediate establishment of modern liberal secularism in the Middle East. (Nobody is seriously suggesting that as a war aim, but it is the logical endpoint of a lot of the rhetoric, especially from liberal hawks.) Buruma and Margalit, in *Occidentalism*, distinguish between "political Islamists" who want to wipe out dissent and "Islamic puritans," "who wish only to enforce collective morality." It is a reasonable distinction that allows us to define the enemy in a way that does not include 95 percent of Muslims. Buruma has written very sensibly about the importance of not allying with doctrinaire secularists in postwar Iraq. If Buruma and Margalit had made corresponding distinctions when considering American Christian conservatives, they could have avoided their overwrought conclusion.

GOD'S REASONS

Not everyone who believes that there is something dangerous, as well as mistaken, about religious conservatism rests his case on the conceptual confusions I have addressed. Peter Beinart, the editor of *The New Republic*, argues that what is wrong with religious conservatives is that they base their views and arguments about public policy on theological premises. They appeal to reasons that are not "accessible to people of different religions, or no religion at all." This makes democracy impossible, at least in conditions of religious pluralism. So far, Beinart is making the familiar Rawlsian argument for "public reason." But he adds a twist. Religious conservatives, he complains, have made their politics into an identity. They treat people who disagree with them about same-sex marriage as though they were hostile to the conservatives' faith—or, worse, hostile to the faithful.



It is possible to meet Beinart partway. To the extent that religious conservatives are jumping from policy disagreements to accusations of bigotry against some persons—and this does happen—they ought to stop. And while there is no constitutional requirement that people make political arguments in terms that can be understood by fellow citizens with different religious views, it is a reasonable request. Since an appeal to a religious belief, authority, or text will be unpersuasive to people who do not accept it, such an appeal will often be counterproductive (rather than "dangerous").

But even that concession must be qualified. The contention that blacks, like whites, were made in the image of God and thus deserve fair treatment was probably "accessible" to more people when it counted than were purely secular arguments. The vast majority of Americans do not find such religious rhetoric alienating, and in a democracy that ought to count for something.

We should not pretend, moreover, that a politics of grievance over symbolic offense is limited to religious conservatives. How many times has it been said that the president's religious references make agnostics and atheists feel as though they are not Americans in good standing? The risk that a crèche on public property will communicate a governmental endorsement of the view that they are un-American, and thus do them symbolic harm, plays an important role in the Supreme Court's church-state jurisprudence.

The way liberals typically deploy the distinction between faith and reason in public-policy argument could also stand some interrogation. There are good reasons to think that it involves real unfairness to religious conservatives, or at least to their views, even if bigotry does not come into play. Beinart writes, "Sometimes, conservative evangelicals grasp [the need for nontheological arguments] and find nonreligious justification for their views." He cites, for example, the argument that "embryonic stem cells hold little scientific promise." What about the argument that taking stem cells from human embryos involves their unjust killing? Does that argument deserve a response from supporters of the research, or is it illegitimately theological? If Beinart is implying the latter, he has a lot of company among his fellow liberals. They have tended to assume that opponents of the research are moved either by the view that human embryos have souls or by the condemnation of the research by religious authorities—neither of which is a valid reason for public policy.

I have followed (and participated in) the debate over stem-cell research since it became a national issue four years ago. In my experience, opponents of the research rarely bring up the possibility that embryos have souls. Slightly more often, religious supporters of the research will suggest that they do not have souls. The context in which the question of ensoulment most frequently comes up, however, is precisely the one in which it has come up here: the false suggestion by supporters that a view of ensoulment is what motivates opponents.

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The Catholic church, to which I belong, is the leading institutional opponent of the intentional destruction of human embryos. It does not base its teaching on the belief that human embryos have souls. It has no definitive teaching on that point. Nor does it believe that Scripture yields a definitive view of the ethics of embryo research. Rather, it believes that it is rationally demonstrable that human embryos are human beings, ensouled or not. The "religious" component of the church's teaching is the view that God wants us to do justice. Our knowledge of that desire does not help us ascertain what justice is in this case. To the extent that the Catholic church's case against embryo destruction rests on "theology," it is on a point that almost nobody, including atheists, wants to controvert: the requirement to do justice. And the argument the church makes is, essentially, the argument all opponents of embryo-destruction make. Those opponents do not generally believe, and do not argue, that God has told us in some direct way what the government's policy toward stem-cell research should be. They understand themselves to be making reasoned arguments.

It may be said that apparently reasoned arguments against embryo destruction are really rationalizations for religious views. The opponents are overwhelmingly evangelicals and Catholics. It is certainly possible that our reasoning goes wrong because we are influenced by extra-rational, unacknowledged factors. But the reasoning of people from different religious traditions or none can go wrong, too. Atheists may have their own forms of rationalization, as do we all. Self-consciously secular thinkers can generate their own orthodoxies. Liberals tend to assume, without reflection, that the rational view of an issue is the one that most non-religious people take. The idea that a religious tradition could strengthen people's reason—could help them reach rationally sound conclusions they might not otherwise reach—rarely occurs to them.

During the campaign, Joseph Bottum of *The Weekly Standard* quipped that John Kerry apparently believed that the fact that his church agreed with him about the wrongness of abortion was a reason not to act on that view. The mental tic Bottum neatly identified is a special case of liberalism's general tendency to identify reason with irreligion.

Liberalism's hymns to reason always end up truncating reason. They are pleas for open debate designed to rule things out of debate. John Rawls himself notoriously ruled that arguments against abortion could not meet the test of his "public reason" (a position from which he later backed away). To someone unsympathetic to liberals, it must begin to look like a kind of trick. Let us imagine a conservative who says that abortion should be illegal because it kills human beings. His liberal friend responds that this sort of theological talk is inadmissible in a democracy because it violates the rules of open debate. We can see that this liberal has misrepresented his friend's views and shut down the discussion—all in the name of reasoned argument. Yet that conversation happens all the time in our politics, and somehow we don't see it.

If I'm right about liberalism's instinctive reflexes, then contemporary liberalism has forfeited the creed's ancient claim to promote civil peace. The modern liberal version of separation of church and state is supposed to keep us from refighting the European wars of religion. That's what the liberal justices on the Supreme Court tell us in their opinions in church-state cases. But if liberal secularism amounts to the unwitting imposition of the views of an irreligious minority on a religious majority, then it hardly seems likely to foster social harmony. Nor has it.

OSAMA AND US

Liberalism's confusions about church and state matter more now that we are in a war with actual theocrats, murderous ones. It is one thing to fight a war for religious freedom, pluralism, and modernity. It is another to fight a war for those things as liberals understand them. If the government were ever perceived to be thus defining the war, support for it would drop substantially, at home and abroad. Many Americans are uncomfortable with modern liberalism's morality, and not because they have a streak of Osama within them.

Liberalism's hymns to reason always end up truncating reason. They are pleas for open debate designed to rule things out of debate.

Those liberals who liken America's Christian conservatives to the Islamists have missed the beam in their own eyes. It is they, the liberals, who agree with the Islamofascists in important respects. Liberals believe that democracy entails abortion-on-demand, pornography, and easy divorce. So do the Islamists. Osama bin Laden, no less than Anthony Lewis, thinks that certainty yields tyranny—that we must choose between belief in an objective moral order, on one hand, and freedom, on the other. It is just that these agreements give him additional reasons to hate democracy and love tyranny.

Some people take this thought too far. There are conservatives who have claimed that the issuing of marriage licenses to homosexual couples in Massachusetts and San Francisco gave the Islamists a propaganda victory. Even Walter Russell Mead, though not to my knowledge a Christian conservative, suggests in his latest book that Americans should respond to the Islamist charges of decadence by "tak[ing] steps to make these charges less plausible in the future."

The mirror image of a bad idea is rarely a good one. Garry Wills's way of thinking about religion and politics needs to be discarded, not inverted. If we believe that justice demands same-sex marriage, then we should go ahead with it. If we think that changing the marriage laws in that way would be harmful for American society without advancing justice, then we shouldn't. In neither case should we allow bin Laden any influence on our decision. Between the War on Terror and the "culture wars," at least, let us have a wall of separation. **NR**

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■ THE AMERICAS

Friends of Hugo

Venezuela's Castroite boss has all the usual U.S. supporters

JOHN J. MILLER

WHEN staffers at the National Endowment for Democracy opened a letter asking about their programs in Venezuela last year, they never expected their response to trigger the persecution of democratic activists in that troubled country. Yet that's exactly what has happened, as Latin America's most ambitious strongman, Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez, has joined forces with American leftists to crack down on grassroots organizations that merely seek to promote free elections.

The story begins with Jeremy Bigwood, a self-described journalist with a history of left-wing activism in Central America. He wanted to take a look at just about every scrap of paper the NED had produced in recent years on its involvement with civic groups in Venezuela. On November 14, 2003, he invoked the Freedom of Information Act in requesting a series of documents from the NED, a nonprofit agency that is funded almost entirely by Congress to promote democracy abroad. Several weeks later, the NED sent Bigwood a thick package of grant approvals, financial reports, and staff evaluations of grant recipients. Much of the basic information was already in the public domain and available in the NED's annual report and other publications. In 2003, for instance, the NED spent nearly $46 million on its activities, with a little more than $1 million going to 15 Venezuelan organizations that focus on education, human rights, and freedom of the press. Bigwood believed that in obtaining this information, he had scored a major coup.

And indeed he had—not because the documents themselves contained anything explosive, but because of what happened to them next. Bigwood shared them with Eva Golinger, a Brooklyn immigration lawyer who enjoys strong ties to Chávez. She sent the papers to her friends in Caracas. They ultimately wound up in the hands of Chávez himself. On February 8, Chávez denounced them on his weekly television show, *Hello, President!* He told listeners that they proved the Bush administration was out to destroy his government and said they'd soon be available on the Internet. Two days later, Golinger posted them on a pro-Chávez website. She added to their allure by calling them "declassified documents," even though they hadn't been classified in the first place.

One of the documents described Grant Number 2003-548, which had been approved the previous September. There was nothing particularly significant about it. The funds were to be spent on typical NED-sponsored activities: the creation of "voter mobilization materials" and training for "people from local organizations on how to monitor the collection of signatures." The grant wasn't especially big: $53,400.

But it was earmarked for Súmate, a grassroots organization that Chávez and his minions view as a threat to their rule—a rule that very nearly came to an end this summer in an unprecedented recall election. Chávez survived that challenge, but has shown no sign of letting up on the persecution of Súmate. In fact, his ongoing courtship of leftists in the United States puts him in position to become the next Fidel Castro—the Western Hemisphere's leading tyrant and irritant.

AN AGGRESSIVE COURTSHIP

Oil wealth makes Chávez an especially menacing foe. Venezuela actually overtook Saudi Arabia as America's top foreign producer in the late 1990s. It has since lost this distinction, but the country still exports more than a million barrels of crude per day to the United States, making it our fourth-largest foreign supplier. One of the main factors leading to Chávez's election as president in 1998—he ran on a platform that attacked "savage capitalism"—was a dip in the price of oil.

The American Left initially treated Chávez with suspicion. "El Comandante" first gained notoriety as an Army officer who led a failed government takeover in 1992. This action landed him in prison, but it also made him something of a folk hero and he was pardoned in 1994. As president, Chávez has quickly consolidated his power by rewriting the constitution, threatening critics, and turning the military into an extension of his political party. On the diplomatic front, he became the first foreign leader to visit Saddam Hussein in the wake of the Gulf War, and he refused to let American planes tracking drug smugglers enter Venezuelan airspace. He has let Colombian rebels find refuge within his borders and appears to have had a hand in the exiling last year of Bolivia's pro-American president, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada.

Inside Venezuela, Chávez became an incredibly divisive figure, adored in the slums but detested just about everywhere else. In 2002, half a million protesters gathered in Caracas to demand his resignation. Gunfire broke out, leaving as many as 18 people dead. In a series of events that even now remain poorly understood, Chávez seems to have lost power for nearly two days—until military loyalists restored his rule. In the aftermath, Chávez's hatred for the Bush administration boiled over, in no small part because the White House didn't exactly condemn his temporary removal.

The incident played right into his hands. Chávez positioned himself as the victim of elites who lacked his commitment to Venezuela's poor. If American leftists didn't exactly become pro-Chávez, many of them grew to be anti-anti-Chávez.

Chávez, of course, would like to win them over entirely. And so he has begun an aggressive courtship. In 2003, his government created the Venezuela Information Office, headquartered in Washington, D.C. From the outset, VIO has worked closely with Global Exchange, a catch-all group of leftists who protest everything from the Iraq War to biotech food. Five years ago, Global Exchange played a role in fomenting riots during the World Trade Organization's Seattle confab. Deborah James, a former Global Exchange employee, was VIO's executive director until recently. Reporters with questions are directed to Lumina Strategies, a public-affairs shop whose clients include Global Exchange as well as Americans United for Affirmative Action, the Ford Foundation, and the Sierra Club. The Chávez regime clearly

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believes that this crowd can help it establish a public-relations beachhead on the American left.

The VIO has taken up its task with verve. It has distributed pro-Chávez flyers at anti-globalization rallies, arranged for delegations of activists to embark on "reality tours" of Venezuela, and encouraged art-house theaters to show a propaganda movie on Chávez called *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*. The VIO also coordinates a media response team which contacts the press about its coverage of Venezuela. Its members are a pastiche of radicals such as Golinger as well as representatives from the Center for Economic and Policy Research, the Nicaragua Network, and United Students Against Sweatshops.

This rag-tag operation has obvious limits, and so Venezuela also has retained the costly services of Patton Boggs, one of Washington's top lobbying firms. In a memo from last February, subsequently obtained by an anti-Chávez group called the International Venezuelan Council for Democracy, Patton Boggs blamed Chávez's low reputation on "the opposition controlled Venezuelan media" and "the political right in the U.S., Colombia, and elsewhere." The firm helped the Chávez government craft a positive message and arranged briefings on Capitol Hill. Since the summer of 2003, the Venezuelans have spent more than $1.6 million on lobbying, according to the Center for Public Integrity.

One unlikely helper who isn't on the lobbyist payroll is Jack Kemp, the former GOP vice-presidential candidate. More than a year ago, Kemp joined the board of Free Market Petroleum, a company with a contract to purchase Venezuelan oil. Since then, Kemp has worked with Venezuelan ambassador Bernardo Alvarez on trying to improve perceptions of the Chávez government in the United States. But a visit last year with the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board to discuss the paper's position on Chávez went disastrously and since then Kemp has kept a lower profile.

The most interesting element of Venezuela's public-relations campaign may be its advertising blitz in the top-drawer media, such as *The Economist*, *The New Yorker*, and *Roll Call*. Instead of emphasizing pristine beaches for tourists or favorable business opportunities for investors—the normal messages in ads sponsored by foreign governments—the Chávez regime is trying to demonstrate its commitment to social uplift. "In the past, Venezuela's oil wealth benefited a few. Today, it benefits a few *million*," says one of these ads, which also encourages readers to visit the VIO website. The campaign was developed by Underground Advertising, a San Francisco-based firm boasting a left-wing clientele that includes the ACLU of Northern California, Friends of the Earth, and the Rainforest Action Network.

TIPPING TOWARD DICTATORSHIP

Whatever gains Chávez has made, however, are now threatened by his harassment of Súmate, the NED's small-time grant recipient. Ever since Bigwood and Golinger passed on their documents, Súmate has been the target of an investigation that only highlights Chávez's authoritarian streak. The intimidation became so great that Súmate even canceled the final portion of its grant, at a cost of more than $20,000. One of Súmate's leaders, Maria Corina Machado, claims that a government prosecutor has tapped her phones, reads her e-mail, and reviews her personal bank statements. She and several others involved with Súmate are on the verge of being charged with crimes that could result in jail terms of up to 16 years.

Their real offense is having participated in events that led to last August's recall referendum. In February 2003, Venezuelan opposition groups collected more than 3 million signatures in an attempt to initiate the election. Six months later, however, an election board controlled by Chavistas ruled them illegal. Another effort began in the fall, and this time the groups gathered even more signatures. But once again, the government refused to validate them. Súmate's role in all this was simply to monitor the signature gathering. It did not formally take sides in the contest, though its leaders were widely known to harbor anti-Chávez sympathies.

Chávez had a good reason for trying to prevent a recall election: As recently as last spring, the polls showed him losing. But then he suddenly reversed course, accepting an agreement brokered by Súmate and other groups that allowed the contest to go forward. Over the next few months, he used the Venezuelan army to register voters in neighborhoods where he is popular and spent at least $1.7 billion on pork projects and welfare programs for his most loyal constituencies. In the United States, the VIO persuaded Jesse Jackson, presidential wannabe Dennis Kucinich, and a few others to declare their "solidarity" with Chávez.

When the election came on August 15, Chávez carried 59 percent of the vote. Súmate and other observers immediately raised questions about abuses leading up to the election as well as irregularities on the day of the vote, but the possibility of what might have been a Ukraine-style blowback ended when Jimmy Carter's group endorsed the result—even though it had accepted restrictions on poll-watching that the European Union's election observers found so intolerable they refused to participate.

Despite Carter's imprimatur, the Chávez regime continues to suffer from international criticism, especially for its hounding of Súmate, which has questioned the results of the referendum. "We are appalled that this group is being singled out for punishment, a group whose deep commitment to democratic principles we share and applaud," said a recent letter signed by former secretary of state Madeleine Albright, former Czech president Václav Havel, Sen. John McCain, and several dozen others. When NED president Carl Gershman visited Venezuela to deliver this letter and meet with officials in early November, he said that the country is "neither a democracy nor a dictatorship but rather somewhere in between."

And it is clearly tipping the wrong way. Today, Chávez's grip on power is tighter than ever—and so he appears to be pressing his advantage. The trial of Machado and her colleagues is expected to begin soon. Other organizations say security personnel have targeted them. Prosecutors want to study the books of opposition groups. The pro-Chávez legislature is about to pass a law that will let the government shut down radio and television stations accused of behaving in ways "contrary to the security of the nation." And when Venezuelan prosecutor Danilo Anderson was murdered in November—perhaps by people with links to the anti-Chávez groups he was investigating—there was Eva Golinger, writing on her website about an assassination "conducted in a style reminiscent of CIA operations."

Is Chávez the next Castro? Time will tell. Whatever his destiny, the American Left is getting itself ready to do his bidding. **NR**

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■ POLITICS

'Pioneers,' 'Rangers,' Indians!

A flourishing American ethnic group gets a little political

JAY NORDLINGER

THEY may be the most prosperous ethnic group in America. By any measure, they are among the most successful. And they are waking up to politics, which portends big things ahead. Republicans, in particular, have reason to be excited. An Indian-American moment may be coming.

This community—we're talking South Asia, not "Native American"—numbers about 2 million, and they are the fastest-growing such community in the nation. Their median income is $60,000 (as against the general American one, about $39,000). They boast something like 200,000 millionaires. They are extraordinarily educated, leaders in many professions. They include about 40,000 doctors—a staggering figure—to which you can add about 12,000 medical students and interns. Famous small-business owners, Indian Americans preside over nearly 40 percent of hotels in the United States. In short, this is a group of American superachievers.

And Republicans think—and hope—that this group is ripe for their party. The thinking goes like this: "Indian Americans are entrepreneurial, hard-working, striving, traditionalist, family-oriented, religious, assimilationist, patriotic—what could be better?" And what are their "issues"? Tax reform and regulation, particularly as they affect small businesses; free trade, which includes a robust defense of outsourcing; and perhaps more than anything else, tort reform—Indian Americans are a community of doctors, not plaintiffs' attorneys, and their political activity has been fueled by a desire to rein in medical liability. Affirmative action is an issue, too, for as Michael Barone points out, many Indian Americans had nasty experiences with preferential policy back in their homeland. This community as a whole—to indulge in some (further) stereotyping—is exceptionally merit-minded.

There is a point to be made in the foreign-policy realm as well: The administration of George W. Bush is fighting a war against Islamist terror, a cause that Indians can appreciate. And he is promoting democracy, another cause dear to Indian hearts: We hear frequently that the homeland is "the world's largest democracy."

None of this is to say that Indian Americans are in the Republican pocket. They form a diverse group, with plenty of Democrats and leftists, in addition to libertarians and other species. In short, they are Americans, spangled politically and otherwise. But as Neil Dhillon—for many years a Democratic policy hand, and now with Financial Dynamics—says, Indian Americans are undergoing a "dramatic shift," in the Republican direction. And this is especially true of the young.

AN AMERICAN ODYSSEY

You might say that the history of Indians in American politics begins in 1956, when Dilip Singh Saund was elected to Congress from California. A Democrat, he walked door to door, in his turban—and won. A second Indian American was elected this November. That would be the Reaganite Republican Bobby Jindal, and he won in Louisiana—with 78 percent of the vote. In an area that used to be the province of David Duke, the Klansman. As Thomas Sowell says, Jindal's election would once have been fanciful. "I would have bet you dollars to doughnuts" against it. But the idea that "things are fixed in concrete" is destroyed by America, perhaps most dramatically in the South.

Congressman Saund may have been elected in 1956, but Indians really didn't start coming to the United States until the 1960s, when President Kennedy sparked changes in immigration law. This contributed to making Indian Americans largely, and gratefully, Democratic. When Nixon tilted to Pakistan, they became all the more Democratic. But Indian Americans didn't participate much in politics, instead educating themselves and their children, working like dogs, and prospering, prospering. Only recently have Indian Americans turned to politics. Neil Dhillon reports that, when he went to work as a congressional aide in 1983, he was the only one—the only Indian American. Now such faces are not uncommon. Before, parents insisted that their kids become doctors or engineers—a college major in political science would have been disapproved. That is loosening.

The historian Stephan Thernstrom points out that immigrant groups do not follow an inevitable pattern in American politics: The Irish, for instance, immersed themselves in politics right away. Other groups sort of keep their heads down, not going out on limbs, before establishing themselves, gaining confidence, and stepping forth.

Bill Clinton was adored by Indian Americans, as by Indians, in large part because he traveled to the mother country. The current president has yet to do that, as Indian Americans note. But he has made huge inroads, as the Indian American Republican Council (IARC)—formed in 2001—will be happy to tell you. He has appointed a "record number" of Indian Americans (although it is unlikely that this president or his men would do so terribly consciously). He was the first president to meet with a Hindu leader in the Oval Office, and the first to hold an event honoring Sikhs. Also, his team hosted the first-ever Diwali event at the White House. (This is the Hindu festival of lights.)

In politics, as in life, little things mean a lot, as illustrated by the following example: In a 2003 speech, Bush touted his faith-based initiative, saying that "where we find Hindus and Jews and Christians and Muslims" we find "decency and compassion." A member of the IARC board remarked, in a letter to the editor, "Not only did Bush mention Hindus, he spoke of them first!"

But big things mean a lot, too, and the president's overall agenda strikes a chord among Indian Americans. Last August, the Bush-Cheney campaign made a bold appeal to this community, saying—about outsourcing—that "the Bush Administration believes the best way to help dislocated workers is through worker assistance, not by erecting barriers to trade and invest-

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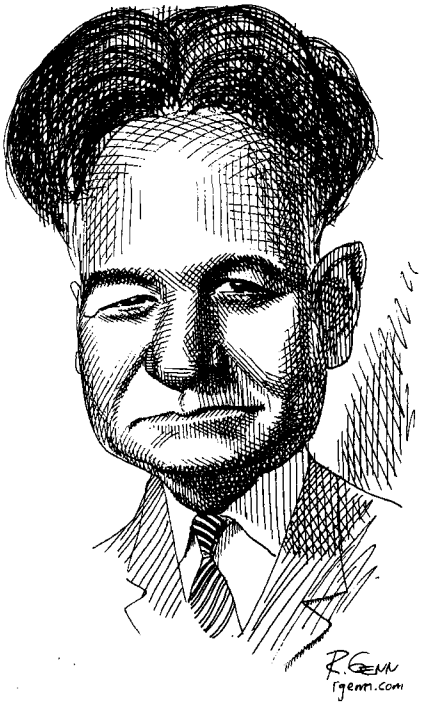
ment." Indian Americans contributed generously to the Republican campaign. Among the president's "Rangers" and "Pioneers"—his top donors—were several Indian-American doctors. And an IARC leader points out that you simply have to ask: In 2000, a San Francisco Bay-area CEO—known to be a moderate Republican—gave Al Gore a million bucks. Why? he was asked. "Because Gore called me, and nobody else had."

Republicans will probably not be asleep at the Indian-American switch again: This year, the Republican National Committee had over 7,000 Indian-American "Team Leaders," whipping up the grass roots. The IARC—not affiliated with the RNC—is doing its part. Its members hosted many candidate events, including "chai chats." What are they? Chai is an Indian tea, and these homely events are reminiscent of the famous gatherings that propelled JFK in Massachusetts. (You remember that Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. blamed his loss to Kennedy on "those damned tea parties.")



Dilip Singh Saund

ROMAN GENN

GROUPS, CAUCUSES, AND MORE

An important Indian-American political moment occurred in 2002, when the U.S. India Political Action Committee—USINPAC—was formed. These citizens have taken as their model the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, founded in the 1950s (and more than once have Indian Americans been likened to Jewish Americans, for myriad reasons). USINPAC's goal is to boost Indian Americans and advance their concerns, regardless of party. They cheer every sign of Indian-American involvement and success: "USINPAC Congratulates Dr. Dinesh Patel on His Appointment as Co-Chair of the Transition Committee of Utah Governor-elect Jon Huntsman Jr."! They hold fundraisers, briefings, breakfasts, lunches, training sessions, seminars. They keep close watch on the India caucuses in the House and Senate. (These are not caucuses of Indian-American members—Jindal would be pretty lonely—but rather of members interested in linking themselves to the Indian-American community, and all matters Indian.) The Senate caucus was formed only last April; its Democratic co-chairman is Hillary Clinton.

Nonpartisan groups besides USINPAC include the Indian American Center for Political Awareness and the Indian American Leadership Incubator. (The goal of the latter is "10 in 10"—ten Indian-American congressmen by 2010.) In August, the Democratic National Committee launched the Indo-American Leadership Council. And there are some left-wing groups, including SAAVY, which stands for "South Asian American Voting Youth." Left-wing Indian Americans are of a piece with the Left at large. They identify themselves as Asians, they favor affirmative action, they have joined the grievance culture. They view themselves as "minorities." They tend to be frustrated that other Indian Americans do not regard themselves as victims, as strangers in a hostile land.

Of Indian Americans who run for office, about half are Democrats and half Republicans—although, two years ago, Rahul Mahajan ran for governor of Texas on the Green ticket. (He came up short.) The senior Indian-American officeholder in the country is Kumar Barve, a Democrat who is majority leader of the Maryland house. Another Democrat, Swati Dandekar, serves in the Iowa house.

Republicans, for their part, are pleased not only with the election of Jindal but with the election of Nikki Randhawa-Haley, to the South Carolina house. She is chairman of the freshman class. It's a safe bet that we will see ever more Indian Americans in the future, as they succeed in politics the way they have succeeded everywhere else. One obstacle for Republicans to overcome, say Indian-American conservatives, is the left-wing press—not the general American press, but the Indian-American in particular (not to mention the Indian). "They are based in New York and totally soaked in blue-state culture," says one conservative. "They are very liberal, very hostile to Republicans. The first question I get is, 'Why are you a Republican? You seem reasonably intelligent.'" A common story, across ethnic lines.

And Indian-American Republicans feel a special conflict: Like other Republicans, they dislike groupthink, and identity politics in general. They wish to transcend race and ethnicity. But they hear a call to inform and rouse Indian Americans—and to wean those they regard as "natural" Republicans from the Democrats. Politicians such as Jindal constantly stress that they are American, embodiments of the American spirit. (Some Democrats emphasize the same.) When Jindal won, his relatives in Punjab danced in the streets and handed out sweets—but, in many ways, he is as Louisiana as crawfish. Nikki Randhawa-Haley has said, "The best way I know to honor Indian Americans is to be good at my job. I don't want to have labels." The executive director of the Indian American Republican Council is decidedly a non-Indian: Jack Hession.

And that is emblematic, says an IARC board member who is also an administration appointee (and an Indian Muslim, as it happens). His testimony: "I became a Republican when I was 17, at Berkeley, of all places. This was in the '80s, and the number-one issue on campus was affirmative action. I had gone to a high school where there were kids of every stripe and color, and race was never an issue. When I got to Berkeley, I thought I was in the Balkans, because everyone hated each other. I couldn't stand the racial fixations. That's what drove me to the Republican party."

This is the type of thinking that should have Republicans licking their chops (and Democrats tightening their jaws, or reconsidering). But no matter what happens, Americans will see their Indian brethren, not just in white coats or behind hotel desks, but at political rostrums. So too, every kind of politician will be stopping in at India festivals, looking for votes—and campaign contributions. Thus does the American dance continue. **NR**

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■ **ANTIQUITY**

Gay Old Times?

Oliver Stone perpetuates a classical myth

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

THE consensus about Oliver Stone's *Alexander* is that the film's splashy gay motifs could not overcome the stilted dialogue, ludicrous Irish-brogue and Count Dracula accents, and excruciating minutes of dead screen time devoted to model-like poses, secretive eye contact, and soap-opera double entendres. Stone's apparent hope was that he could garner media hype by overt homosexual scenes of kissing and hugging, and by candor about same-sex relations: The world's first global conqueror was really more a sensitive and feminine creature of the bedroom and banquet hall than a great captain of blood and iron.

In reality, the movie proved not so much scandalous as boring. The problem with Stone's lurid sexual narrative is not his historical inaccuracies, but the movie's obsession with sexual intrigue, which causes much of Alexander's amazing story to be lost. The controversies that emerge from the extant historians of Alexander—Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch—do not hinge on sex. Rather, the "good" and "bad" ancient and modern traditions of Alexander involve a number of far more fascinating issues—nearly all of them omitted by Stone.

Alexander helped to kill more Greeks at the victory of Chaeronea, the siege of Thebes, the campaigns in Ionia, and the battles of Granicus and Issus than the Persians killed in a century and a half of East–West conflict. The razing of Thebes—the dramatic setting of much of Athenian tragedy, home to Pythagoreans and Pindar—is ignored. The brutal siege of Tyre was considered a military masterpiece; it and the storming of Gaza go unnoticed. How or why Persepolis was torched is never really investigated, but has framed centuries of debate. There is a good-enough description of the battle of Gaugamela, but Granicus and Issus are unmentioned. Some sort of Vietnam-like elephant fight in the bush apparently substitutes for the set-piece against Porus at the Hydaspes. In any case, it resembles more Stone's mythodrama of *Platoon* than anything out of Arrian.

Alexander's ego killed more of his men in a needless trek through the Gedrosian Desert than Darius III ever did on the battlefield. That disaster and the dirty fighting in Bactria merit almost no screen time. Also omitted is Alexander's introduction to the Western world of decimation, crucifixion, and other phenomena.

Mr. Hanson is a classicist and military historian at the Hoover Institution and the author of *The Other Greeks* and other books on the ancient world.

SEX AND THE ANCIENT CONQUEROR

But the problems of Stone's three-hour sexual melodrama transcend the omission of important facts. This gay extravaganza ignores the great debate over the assessment of Alexander the Great himself. Was he an avatar of multiculturalism or, in fact, a mass killer of the Caesar and Napoleon stamp, wise enough to cloak his barbarity in intellectual pretension? Is his great decade in the East proof of military genius, or simply explained as the career of a ruthless young firebrand who inherited the army and generals of his far more brilliant father? Did Alexander really Westernize the East, or, in fact, provide only a thin veneer of Hellenism to Asia, and instead doom the five-century legacy of the free Greek city-state by importing Oriental despotism, theocracy, and crony corporate agriculture? Did he die exhausted on the altar of an idealistic "Brotherhood of Man," or was the worn-out alcoholic finally poisoned by reactionary Macedonian marshals who had enough of his wild-goose chases over the badlands of Afghanistan, India, and Iran? Stone is clueless about these debates over Alexander. Yet all of these issues are not the dry stuff of academia; they could easily have been captured on the screen, inasmuch as they were played out in mayhem and carnage on the battlefield. In lieu of such seriousness, however, we get a glitzy ancient *Dallas* or the sexual energy of *Desperate Housewives*.

So be it—but is Stone's sense of the sex at least historically accurate? Yes and no. Among *particular social and economic cadres of the ancient world*, there was certainly nothing deemed wrong with homosexual liaisons under accepted protocols. On the other hand, for the vast majority of rural folk in the Mediterranean world, heterosexuality and marriage were, of course, the norms. The pre-Christian poor and agrarian classes considered homosexual acts deviant, not on religious grounds of sinfulness, but rather as proof of corruption and decadence that were the wages of too much money and too much time in town.

Yet among an urban sophisticated elite of both Greece and Rome, in the symposium and palaestra, older men's interest in feminine companionship and sexuality was not delineated by gender alone, but more along the lines of youth and appearance. In such a rarefied world of Plato's *Symposium* or Petronius' *Satyricon*, feminine-looking boys often were openly seen as desirable sex partners—as long as such idealized relationships reflected the pretense of imparting education and remained one-sided. Free older men did not properly engage in reciprocal acts in a passive manner that suggested a female role, much less shack up with those of the same age in permanent sexual unions. True, we hear sometimes of idealistic relationships of youths roughly the same age—Homer's Achilles and Patroclus, or the Thebans Pelopidas and Epaminondas—but never any concrete evidence that such rite-of-passage bonding entailed sexual intercourse.

For the last 20 years, classicists have explored every nook and cranny of this asymmetrical sexual game so prominent in the elite life of surviving classical literature. "Gender studies" profs evoke everything from Michel Foucault's notions of power and sexual-construction to analogies with modern-day transvestitism and campus transgenderism in efforts to cast off Victorian-era silence about our "real" classical heroes. In any case, we have come a long way from Edward Gibbon's praise for the emperor Claudius, who avoided boys—and thus was the only one of the first 15 Roman emperors he deemed "correct" in matters of sex.

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A different, but related, practice abounded in military societies such as Sparta, ancient Thebes, and Macedon. Soldiers—including Philip's boyfriend and later assassin Pausanias, or Alexander in his apparent erotic fascination with Hephaistion—would on occasion enjoy carnal relations with men, mostly younger and of inferior social or economic status. Spartan kings were often said to have favorite boys, and among the warrior class sex may well have been part of imbuing young soldiers with martial prowess.

Consequently, in the Hellenic world, demarcations such as "homosexual" or "bisexual" did not quite exist, although we hear plenty about excessive "boy-loving" by the likes of Sophocles or, later, the philhellene emperor Hadrian. Indeed there are not even words for such iron-clad "orientations" in the classical or Hellenistic Greek vocabulary. Yet there are plenty of terms of scorn for "pathics" and "catamites" (e.g., *kinaidoi* or *malakoi/malthakoi*) who preferred passive relations, did not marry or sire children, and manifested open signs of femininity, including lisping, limp wrists, and girlish makeup and attire. Something like that would describe the precious Agathon, the Athenian playwright, or Giton, the pansy male gigolo of the *Satyricon*. In the corpus of Aristotle, at least, observations are made of the girlish stares, sashaying, and campy posturing of certain male types—and the anonymous author may inadvertently be describing what we now associate with a genetic bent toward exclusive homosexual desire among 3 to 5 percent of the population. In any case, a Macedonian horse lord would never assume such a public role that even faintly resembled that of the "sodomite." But he also might not be averse during a drunken spree to using such omnipresent young men as surrogate females for his own sexual pleasure—especially when many were politically savvy and wished to trade their flesh for money or social advancement.

WHAT KIND OF SEXUALITY?

Our closest modern American notion relative to the sex practices of either ancient sophisticates or ancient randy soldiers might be characterized not as omnivorous pedophilia per se, but as a subset of pederasty: the sexual attraction toward young boys of older men, often otherwise "heterosexual," who seem both indifferent to men their own age and yet not interested in being a passive actor in sexual congress with youths. In present-day society we hear of all this—from the lurid accounts of bachelor Western clergy to married Pashtun tribesmen in the Hindu Kush, who often seek out sexual apprentices among poorer boys, orphans, or those eager to emulate martial bravery.

Whether such homoerotic desire is an expression of innate homosexual tendencies in either participant or more a reflection of the many heterosexual obstacles within tribal societies—involving the sanctity of female virginity, the relative scarcity of educated and empowered women, or life in a mostly male society—is not quite clear either in the present or the past. But what is unmistakable is that in the ancient Mediterranean occasional sex with feminine-looking men or adolescents did not earn the reproach of "acting queer" as it still does in the modern world. In most cases, acts per se did not equate to either a lifestyle or an orientation. Thus it makes little sense to speculate whether figures as diverse as Plato and Philip II were akin to our notion of "gays."

Alexander's Macedonians were both more and less tolerant of homosexuality as we would describe it than the modern world, focusing not on the desire per se for male sexual companionship, but rather on the method of its manifestation. In some sense, the Macedonian evening communal tent was not unlike the savage world of the modern prison. In both, constant male intimacy created a strange classification of masculinity, in which active roles involving penetration were seen as quasi-normal sexual expression, a sort of surrogate intercourse when women are not to be found. Those weaker, prettier, or younger who are "used" are seen as little more than "women," and alone suffer the abuse of surrendering their male identity, whether by inclination or under coercion.

Stone seems to grasp none of this complexity. But had he really believed that Alexander's sex life should not be separate from his remarkable career, then it would have been portrayed as incidental rather than as essential to his persona, and in no way much different from that of the men he led. In contrast, if Stone, quite without historical support, really believed that Alexander's desire was both unusual for the time and at the heart of his ambiguous legacy as both founder and destroyer of innumerable cities, then he should have explored the asceticism, rather than the indulgence, of Alexander. The ancients believed not that Alexander was obsessed with sex or that he was at all kinky in his tastes, but that his carnal desires were oddly sublimated to an array of other concerns, from mysticism and religion to Asian politics and fashionable foreign cults.

> It makes little sense to speculate whether Plato and Philip II were akin to our notion of 'gays.'

Indeed, it's less likely that sex was at the root of Alexander's relationships with his mother Olympias and his companion Hephaistion, and his various liaisons with Eastern princesses, than that Alexander was—unlike his lusty Macedonian compatriots—rather asexual. He may have liked young men around in the fashion of an aesthete Epaminondas, Lord Kitchener, or General Douglas Haig, and might even have often enjoyed male outlets in the manner of Frederick the Great or Kemal Ataturk, but Alexander the Great was more likely a bore in the bedroom. He was surely not in the class of a Caesar, Napoleon, or Wellington—whose sexual appetites are still irrelevant to understanding their military legacies.

In the beginning, youthful naïveté and half-baked idealism, and later, paranoia, alcoholism, and gratuitous cruelty—never occasional homosexual desire—were at the root of Alexander's personal enigma. The sex we get from Oliver Stone is either historically misleading or incidental to what made Alexander what he was. So *Alexander* is more about the prurience and fashion of Malibu and Hollywood than about how the world itself was changed by a single man in the latter 4th century B.C. **NR**

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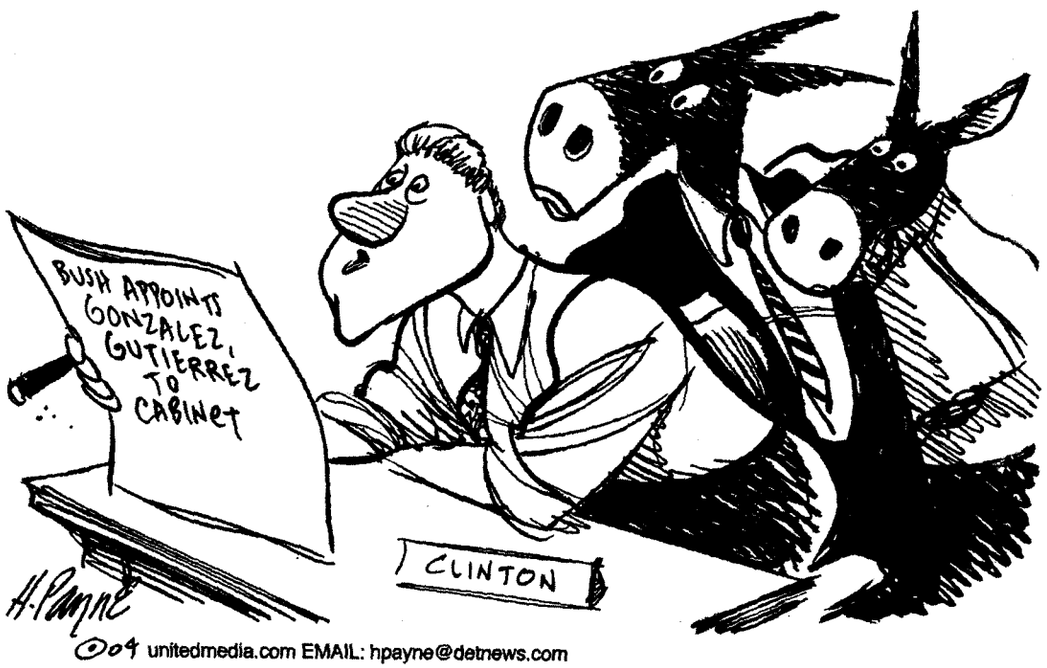

"ANOTHER HISPANIC?! BUT BUSH ALREADY MADE QUOTA!"

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THEY'RE IRRELEVANT

Here's to (shall we rush the season?)
Tom and Dan and—still
Hanging in there—haughty Peter,
All over the hill.
Tom's farewells were somewhat fulsome;
Dan just oozes off.
Peter's got an ear so tinny,
He can't hear 'em cough.

—W. H. VON DREELE

"REMEMBER WHEN THE AMENDMENT TO ALLOW A FOREIGN-BORN PRESIDENT WAS A VEHICLE FOR A SCHWARZENEGGER OR GRANHOLM RUN, PRESIDENT KISSINGER?"

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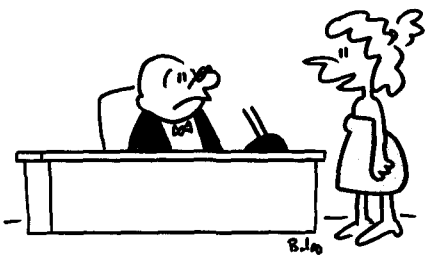

"Sir, there's a Mr. Van Damme, a Mr. Chan, and a Mr. Schwarzenegger here to see you."

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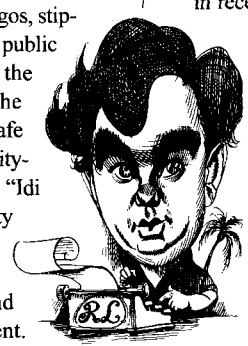
the long view

ROB LONG

2005: A look ahead . . .

From the *Washington Post,* Page 1, January 11, 2005:

Former Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein has agreed to a plea-bargain arrangement with the interim Iraqi government, according to State Department sources. The terms of the plea, which was finalized over several days last week in consultation with American officials and Hussein's attorney, Mark Geragos, stipulate that in exchange for his public and vociferous support for the upcoming Iraqi elections, the former dictator will receive safe passage to a villa in the Arab city-state of Dubai. Known as the "Idi Amin Scenario," the possibility of a deal was first floated by Geragos before the Christmas holidays after a long and tearful session with his client. "He just wants some of his stuff," Geragos told reporters. "He wants to move on and begin a new chapter of his life, in privacy and seclusion." Hussein's forthcoming autobiography, *Call Me Sad,* is set to be released this autumn.



From the *New York Times,* Business Day section, March 12, 2005:

Ousted United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan confirmed this morning that he had been offered, and has accepted, the position of president and CEO of the Disney Company. "It is with great excitement and anticipation that I turn to this new opportunity, and I look forward to stewarding this great American brand into the next century." In a statement released by company directors, they cited Mr. Annan's "brilliant financial management" of the world diplomatic body as a "key factor" in their decision to offer him the post. Concern about Mr. Annan's lack of experience in the entertainment industry was brushed aside by Disney's chief executive, Michael Eisner. "Has he ever made an animated fairy tale? Of course not," Mr. Eisner said at the news conference announcement. "But is he familiar with the concept of make-believe? Emphatically yes."

From *Time,* May 23, 2005:

Former President Bill Clinton's doctors are mystified by his persistent heart trouble and have confirmed that the former leader has suffered numerous small heart "events" since his successful heart surgery last year.

"We just haven't been able to nail down the problem," Clinton's cardiologist said. "He'll be fine, and then after a relaxing weekend with his wife, suddenly he'll start having chest pains. Weird."

The gregarious former president, who in recent months has become something of a national spokesman for heart-disease prevention, maintains that he has closely followed his new heart-healthy diet. "I eat right, exercise, all of it." His wife, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, has confirmed her husband's discipline in a phone interview as she was traveling to a speaking engagement in Iowa. "I know he's not cheating," she said, "because I fix all of our meals when we're together. He eats whatever I put in front of him. But you know, sometimes heart disease is tricky. You never know when disaster may strike."

From the *New York Times,* Business Day section, October 19, 2005:

Ousted United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan, who has been serving as President and CEO of the Disney Company, has decided to step down from that post, it was announced today. This follows a difficult and stormy year, which some sources have claimed was marked by inaction and lethargy on the part of Mr. Annan. His tenure was also tainted by the disappearance of almost $127 million in cash receipts from Disney's three major theme parks; the funds were last seen in several cases in the trunk of Mr. Annan's Rolls-Royce Silver Cloud. "We are grateful to Secretary Annan for his leadership this past year," the company said in a statement, "and are sorry to see him step down." Although the precise details of his severance package have yet to be disclosed, sources say that it will surely include a cash settlement in the hundreds of millions, and use of the Disney corporate jet for a period of years. In addition, Mr. Annan's son, Kojo, will continue on as a consultant to the company . . .

From *Time,* December 8, 2005:

In deference to a distraught Hillary Rodham Clinton, Chappaqua investigators have decided to close their preliminary investigation into the sudden death of former President Bill Clinton, and have ordered the county medical examiner to return the president's body to his family in time for the state funeral, scheduled for December 24. "I don't like this at all," Tajiko Hayakawa, Chappaqua's medical examiner, told reporters. "There's a lot here that I can't explain. Like, what was the cause of his massive heart failure? There's no sign of blockage, or muscular damage. His recent EKGs were all fine. I'd like to do a liver section to see if there are any traces of poison, but I guess an autopsy is out of the question." Senator Clinton, appearing before a cheering crowd in New Hampshire in black crepe, announced the formation of an exploratory committee for the 2008 presidential campaign.

From *Mediaweek,* December 12, 2005:

Bill O'Reilly, anchor of *The CBS Evening News,* was formally suspended today for hitting a small child during an interview. The child, a national spokesperson for Children with Hearing Disabilities, enraged the volatile anchor by refusing to "shut up" when ordered to. Sources report that the child, an eight-year-old girl with 80% to 90% hearing loss in both ears, simply could not hear the red-faced O'Reilly bellowing at her, and so continued to describe the recent efforts of the CHD to improve the lives of the partially deaf. The anchor was unavailable for comment, but his spokesperson referred all questions to the platinum-plus member section of Oreilly.com.

From the *New York Times,* Page 1, December 24, 2005:

Hours after attending a somber, though at times uplifting, private lunch at the Georgetown home of Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton following the funeral ceremonies for former President Bill Clinton, New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson and Indiana Senator Evan Bayh were hospitalized with severe chest pains. Doctors were baffled by the unexplained coincidence. Neither man has any history of heart disease, and both have at times been mentioned as potentially strong candidates for the Democratic presidential ticket in 2008, along with the host of the lunch, Senator Clinton.

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WED/July 13	Dublin	8:00AM	6:00PM	late-night H. Upmann smoker
THURS/July 14	Liverpool	7:00AM	8:00PM	evening cocktail reception
FRI/July 15	Belfast	8:00AM	10:00PM	
SAT/July 16	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
SUN/July 17	Edinburgh	8:00AM		overnight
MON/July 18	Edinburgh		6:00PM	
TUES/July 19	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars late-night H. Upmann smoker
WED/July 20	St. Peter Port	8:00AM	5:00PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/July 21	Dover	7:00AM		

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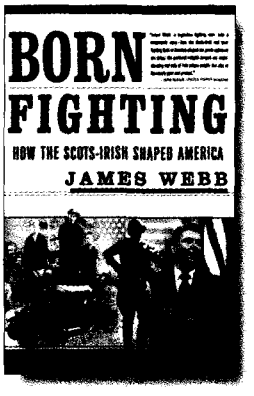
Heart of Valor



Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America, by James Webb (Broadway, 384 pp., $25.95)

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

WITHOUT really intending to do so, James Webb may have written the most important political book of 2004. *Born Fighting* helps explain why George W. Bush won reelection by a margin greater than conventional wisdom predicted. Democrats especially, but Republicans as well, ought to take note of this book.

The Scots-Irish, writes Webb, are all around us. They shape our culture,

> more in the abstract power of emotion than through the argumentative force of law. In their insistent individualism, they are not likely to put an ethnic label on themselves when they debate societal issues. Some of them don't even know their ethnic label, and some who do don't particularly care. They don't go for group-identity politics any more than they like to join a union. Two hundred years ago the mountains built a fierce and uncomplaining self-reliance into an already hardened people. To them, joining a group and putting themselves at the mercy of someone else's collective judgment makes as much sense as letting the government take their guns. And nobody is going to get their guns.

Mr. Owens is an associate dean of academics and a professor of national security affairs at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I.

These are the "red state" voters. They are family-oriented, take morality seriously, go to church, join the military, and listen to country music. They strongly believe that no man is obligated to obey the edicts of a government that violates his moral conscience. They once formed the bedrock of the Democratic party—from Andrew Jackson until Vietnam—but have been moving to the GOP ever since. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, Webb called the Scots-Irish in America the "the secret GOP weapon."

This is Webb's first nonfiction book, and it is a tour de force. He describes the migration of a stubborn, individualistic people from the mists of Northern Scotland through Ulster to the highlands of America, and thence—by the "hillbilly highways"—to the Midwest and Far West. Throughout, they have refused to bend the knee to kings, bishops—or modern American elites. It is important to recognize that we are talking about culture here and not "blood": Scots-Irish culture is so populist and assimilative that other ethnic groups have gravitated toward it. That's how it has become, arguably, America's strongest cultural force.

For many Americans, however, the Scots-Irish culture is either invisible or an object of derision. In today's group-identity politics, the Scots-Irish are usually lumped into the WASP category, which illegitimately papers over many significant differences among white, "non-ethnic" Americans. When they are noticed at all, they are liable to be ridiculed by the coastal elites, who view them as violent rednecks or trailer-park trash. After the elections, for instance, novelist Jane Smiley wrote that "the election results reflect the decision of the right wing to cultivate and exploit ignorance in the citizenry. . . . Ignorance and bloodlust have a long tradition in the United States, especially in the red states. . . . Listen to what the red state citizens say about themselves, the songs they write, and the sermons they flock to. They know who they are—they are full of original sin and they have a taste for violence."

Unfortunately, the Left does not have a monopoly on this attitude. Commenting on a statement that Howard Dean made during the Democratic primaries, Charles Krauthammer opined that Dean was campaigning for the "white trash vote" by pandering to the "rebel-yelling racist redneck." In the *Wall Street Journal*, Webb called this "the most vicious ethnic slur of the presidential campaign," noting dryly that Krauthammer "has never complained about this ethnic group when it has marched off to fight the wars he wishes upon us."

Webb is a remarkable man: a graduate of the Naval Academy who, while serving as a Marine officer in Vietnam, was wounded twice and awarded the Navy Cross for valor (think nonposthumous Medal of Honor). A graduate of Georgetown Law School, he was secretary of the navy during the Reagan administration. He is a man of letters whose most important fictional characters are convincingly realized representatives of the people he chronicles in *Born Fighting*: Robert E. Lee Hodges Jr. (*Fields of Fire*, the best novel about Vietnam), Bill Fogarty (*A Sense of Honor* and *Something to Die For*), and Judd Smith (*A Country Such as This*). And—most important for Vietnam veterans like me—Webb is the man who time and again stood on the front lines of the culture war that still rages between those who served and those who didn't, a culture war that played a major role in the recent election. And just as he stood up to the elites who peddled falsehoods about the Vietnam veteran, he now takes them on about this important group as well.

Not surprisingly, the two stories are related. The Scots-Irish have an age-old military tradition: They have turned up disproportionately for all of America's wars. In *Born Fighting*, the scene shifts seamlessly from Berwick and Bannockburn, to Ulster, to Civil War battlefields, to the An Hoa basin of Vietnam—where Webb led a platoon

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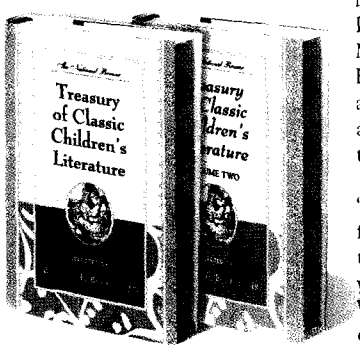

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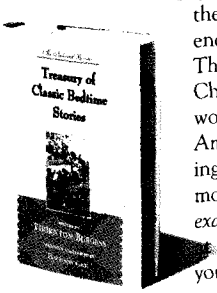

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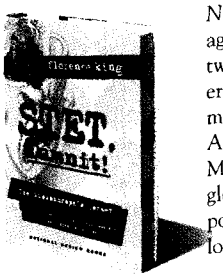

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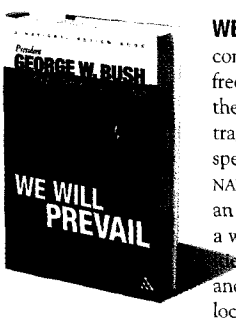

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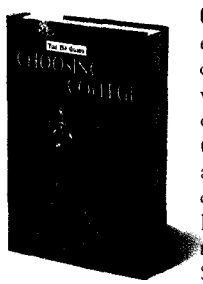

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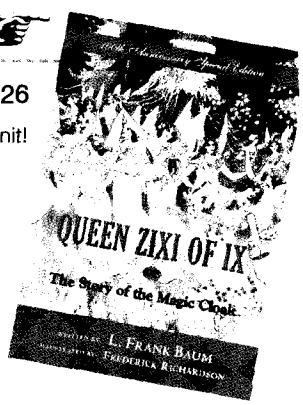

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and a rifle company of the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines. Webb is writing about his own "people," his forebears. "History becomes personal," he writes. "And the personal becomes history." Readers of *Born Fighting* will already have heard of Andy Jackson and *Braveheart*'s William Wallace, but Webb also recounts the stories of his own family—among whom no one stands taller than his father, who passed on to him the Scots-Irish code of honor, courage, loyalty, and audacious leadership.

The Scots-Irish tend to see politics and religion from the bottom up rather than from the top down. In the British Isles, they resisted Norman feudalism, adhering to political relations based on personal honor and voluntary associations. In America, especially the South, they fought against a top-down political system imported by the Cavaliers, and they shaped Jacksonian democracy. In the British Isles, they resisted both Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, preferring the Kirk and Presbyterianism (the rule of elders); in America, they became Baptists and fueled the various Great Awakenings.

In Scotland, they lived in dugouts and cabins that reflected the reality of frequent English depredations. In America, they lived in cabins that reflected the reality of an often-dangerous Indian frontier. Unpainted barns and trailer parks are today's legacy of an uncertain environment. The English imported Scots Presbyterians to Ulster to manage their unruly Celtic cousins, the Irish. These Scots were repaid by the Test Acts of Queen Anne that essentially outlawed their religion. Growing tired of fighting Anglican England's battles against the Catholic Irish in Ulster, in the 18th century they migrated in large numbers to America, where both the Virginia aristocrats and Pennsylvania's Quakers saw them as a buffer against the Indians. As in Ulster, the elites of Pennsylvania and Virginia likewise often repaid the Scots-Irish with legislation that was disadvantageous to them.

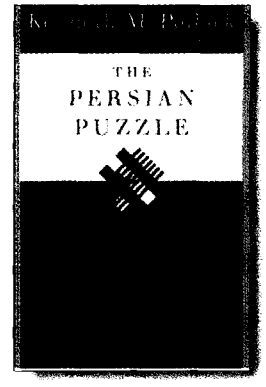
Some 95 percent of the Ulster Scots who immigrated to America ended up in the South, so that region and the Scots-Irish are irrevocably linked. And of course, the mythic event for the South, even more than for the rest of the country, is the Civil War and Reconstruction. Despite the fact that poor whites, especially the Scots-Irish, had no stake in the preservation of slavery, the planter class was successful in recruiting them for the war: They formed the core of the Confederate armies that struggled against the odds for four long and costly years. But the impact of the Scots-Irish did not stop here. They also provided the bulk of Union soldiers in the Western armies—Hoosiers, Buckeyes, and other "butternuts" from the Northwest, as well as Unionist groups in east Tennessee, western Virginia, northern Alabama, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana that resisted central Confederate authority just as assiduously as they had federal.

The Scots-Irish paid a high price for the Civil War. The economic status of the Scots-Irish is similar to that of black southerners—but since they are lumped in with other non-ethnic whites, they do not benefit from "affirmative action." America's elites do not see this. All they see are rednecks waving the Confederate flag. But while the Confederate battle flag unfortunately has been co-opted by racists, most descendants of the Scots-Irish see it as I do: *a tribute to honorable men* who fought bravely against great odds.

The Scots-Irish culture of the red states gave rise to true American-style democracy.

If the Democrats ever want to be competitive again, they need to figure out a way to appeal to the Scots-Irish culture of the red states, and indeed of the red counties within blue states. Maureen Dowd can stamp her feet all she wants, but it is *this* culture that gave rise to true American-style democracy. James Webb has shown us that as long as the likes of Dowd and Michael Moore are the arbiters of the Democratic party, the Democrats are unlikely to win another national election. But the flipside is just as important: The Republicans cannot afford to take this culture for granted. **NR**

Confronting Tehran



The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America, by Kenneth M. Pollack (Random House, 576 pp., $26.95)

RACHEL FRIEDMAN

KENNETH POLLACK has a knack for timing. Two years ago, the former CIA analyst and Clinton administration official published *The Threatening Storm*, making the case for war in Iraq. The book was well received on both right and left; according to *The New York Times Magazine*'s Deborah Solomon, it "persuade[d] many reluctant Democratic policy makers to support" the war.

Now Pollack gives us *The Persian Puzzle*, a detailed history of U.S.-Iranian relations. Iran is today's big story, owing to U.S. efforts to bring its nuclear-weapons program to the forefront of international attention. Policymakers and outside experts alike are predicting a perilous standoff, and Pollack promises to illuminate the current conflict by looking at its past.

He begins at Iran's beginning, some 2,500 years ago, but quickly fast-forwards to its first major contact with the West—Britain and Russia—during the period leading up to and including World War I. Pollack writes that Iranians emerged from this period convinced that foreign interference was the source of all their problems; this remains a major theme of Iranian foreign policy.

Iran's first sustained encounter with

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America began during World War II. Pollack describes this early period in a chapter called "The Ugly Americans"—a reference primarily to the Iranian perception of the 1953 coup that overthrew nationalist leader Mohammed Mossadegh. In Iranian political mythology, Mossadegh would come to represent all the wonderful things Iran might have become had he stayed in power; as a result of the coup, Iranians, once hopeful that America would serve as their protector against British and Russian imperial aims (a hope that was not entirely disappointed), came to imagine that, in Pollack's words, "the CIA was . . . spending great time and effort manipulating every segment of their society."

Just as the coup against Mossadegh looms large in the Iranian view of Iranian-American relations, most Americans believe the pivotal point in our encounter was the hostage crisis that took place over 25 years and an Iranian revolution later. In 1979, Islamist students overran the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking 66 Americans hostage and keeping most of them for 444 days: That was when the current conflict with the Islamic Republic really began. Pollack is generous in his evaluation of President Jimmy Carter's handling of the crisis, blaming (in large measure) Carter's humanitarianism for an ineffective response that made the U.S. look weak and thus emboldened Iran, Iraq, Syria, and various terrorist groups for years to come.

Pollack's chapters on the Clinton administration are also, not surprisingly, rather favorable; but one anecdote is quite revelatory about that administration's attitudes. In March 2000, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright gave a speech before the American Iranian Council advocating renewed ties between the two countries. Pollack was, at the time, director of Persian Gulf affairs at the National Security Council. The purpose of the speech, as he explains it, was to make one "last gesture" to demonstrate to Iran that the U.S. was willing to normalize relations in exchange for improved behavior.

In her speech, Albright apologized for the 1953 coup, expressed regret for U.S. support for the shah who replaced Mossadegh, and criticized as "shortsighted" our tilt toward Iraq in the eight-year Iran–Iraq war. She also announced the lifting of sanctions on two of Iran's biggest exports: food and rugs. Pollack and others thought a breakthrough was at hand. Yet two deadly words had managed to creep into Albright's otherwise conciliatory speech: "Despite the trend towards democracy, control over the military, judiciary, courts, and police remains in *unelected hands*" (emphasis added). After reading a draft, Pollack tried to have the words "unelected hands" excised, but his efforts failed—and so did the attempt to build bridges with Iran.

This story illustrates the Clinton administration's mindset during several years of unsuccessful attempts to reach a rapprochement with Tehran. The Clinton team was encouraged by the 1997 presidential victory of reformist Mohammed Khatami—but Khatami's power ultimately proved limited. This is, indeed, a recurring theme in Pollack's history: The U.S. has often tried to reach out to purported Iranian moderates or pragmatists, only to find those figures unreliable or blocked by more powerful forces. Pollack, to his credit, later came to realize that any rapprochement that could be destroyed by two words wasn't a meaningful rapprochement at all. "Iran," he

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concludes, "was ruled by a regime in which the lion's share of power—and everything that truly mattered—was in the hands of people who were not ready or interested in improving ties with the United States."

This conclusion is helpful, but one wonders why it took so long in coming. There are several points in this book when one wishes Pollack had gone a few steps further in forming judgments, and policy guidance, from history. For example, he acknowledges that a "key weakness" of the Clinton administration's containment policy was that the "sticks" or threats on which it was based were too small, making it difficult to induce any real change in Iran's behavior. Yet rather than advocate a more confrontational strategy, Pollack continues to opt for engagement. (The Clinton containment policy was also purportedly based on red lines, the crossing of which would provoke American retaliation; but Pollack ultimately defends Clinton's decision *not* to retaliate against Iran for the 1996 Khobar Towers attack, in which 19 Americans were killed.) What's more, Pollack reveals that our European allies have on more than one occasion proven unreliable when it comes to Iran—trying to entice the rogue state with benefits rather than making the sacrifices necessary to reprimand it. Yet in the end he proposes *more* American cooperation with Europe (and Japan and China and Russia), advocating unilateral action only if such cooperation again fails.

There are, to be sure, valuable insights in this book. In analyzing not only the origins and complexities of U.S. policies but also the reactions they provoked, Pollack shows just how tricky U.S.-Iranian relations are. He sympathetically explains Iranians' historic fear of foreigners and accounts for, but does not justify, their paranoia about American power. And yet, Pollack admits that he does not read or speak Farsi and has never been to Iran, which may be significant weaknesses. As Richard Pipes has argued about the Soviet Union and Sovietologists, most of whom were caught off guard by that regime's demise, truly understanding such a society requires a humanistic approach: reading the literature, listening to dissidents, understanding the forces that keep a regime alive—and bring it down. Pollack is not devoid of such humanistic grounding, but he could have used more of it.

Pollack concludes with a thorough consideration of many policy options currently on the table. He settles on a "triple track" strategy that includes the possibility of a comprehensive negotiated settlement, a "true carrot and stick approach" if that proves unattainable, and a "new containment regime" if all negotiations fail. Pollack is as articulate and serious a proponent of these ideas as one is likely to find. But as his own history reveals, the mullahs have demonstrated their enmity toward the U.S., and have frustrated American aims, for a quarter century; how is a future settlement likely to change that? How will negotiations, or uncertain red lines, prevent another Khobar Towers-type attack, this time with nuclear weapons? To the extent that he considers the range of more confrontational options available, short of invading Iran—for example, muscular anti-proliferation actions; support for the democratic opposition; and the threat of targeted military strikes, even by Israel—he recommends only anti-proliferation, and even this only as a last-stage measure. And while he does suggest that regime change could be a useful component of a larger Iran policy, and that the U.S. should serve as a beacon of freedom to oppressed Iranians, it is no doubt difficult to encourage a democratic revolution while offering benefits to hardliners and signaling that we've reconciled ourselves to the long-term existence of the current regime.

America, Pollack concludes, needs most of all to "sort through the myriad pieces of our own relationship" with Iran. Well, that's one option. But introspection and joint apology sessions don't usually stop ill-intentioned people from doing harmful things—and that, after all, is U.S. policymakers' foremost aim. For all his subtle argumentation, Pollack never adequately addresses the urgency of that task. America's leaders can't join him in the luxury of avoidance. **NR**

Wolfe Enrolls

I Am Charlotte Simmons, by Tom Wolfe (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 688 pp., $28.95)

THOMAS S. HIBBS

At fictional Dupont University, the setting for Tom Wolfe's new book, a top-ranked basketball program complements an Ivy League academic reputation. As the ill-educated but clever coach puts it, the university upholds the classical ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano*, a phrase he identifies as Greek and translates roughly into English as, "If you want a great university, you damn well better have a great athletic program."

In this rollicking novel set in the carnival atmosphere of today's elite colleges, athletic culture is pervasive, as is the preoccupation with sex, alcohol, and perfect abs. Dupont is a place where the desires for physical pleasure, reputation, and future success smother the life of the mind; a world where student life is insuperably at cross-purposes with academic life. Which is to say: It's a pretty accurate picture of student life at today's elite colleges.

Ever the sharp-witted iconoclast, Wolfe has never been popular in certain literary circles. His November 1 proclamation, in a *Guardian* interview, that America's liberal elite "hasn't got a clue" was perhaps not the best PR strategy for

Mr. Hibbs is a contributor to National Review Online.

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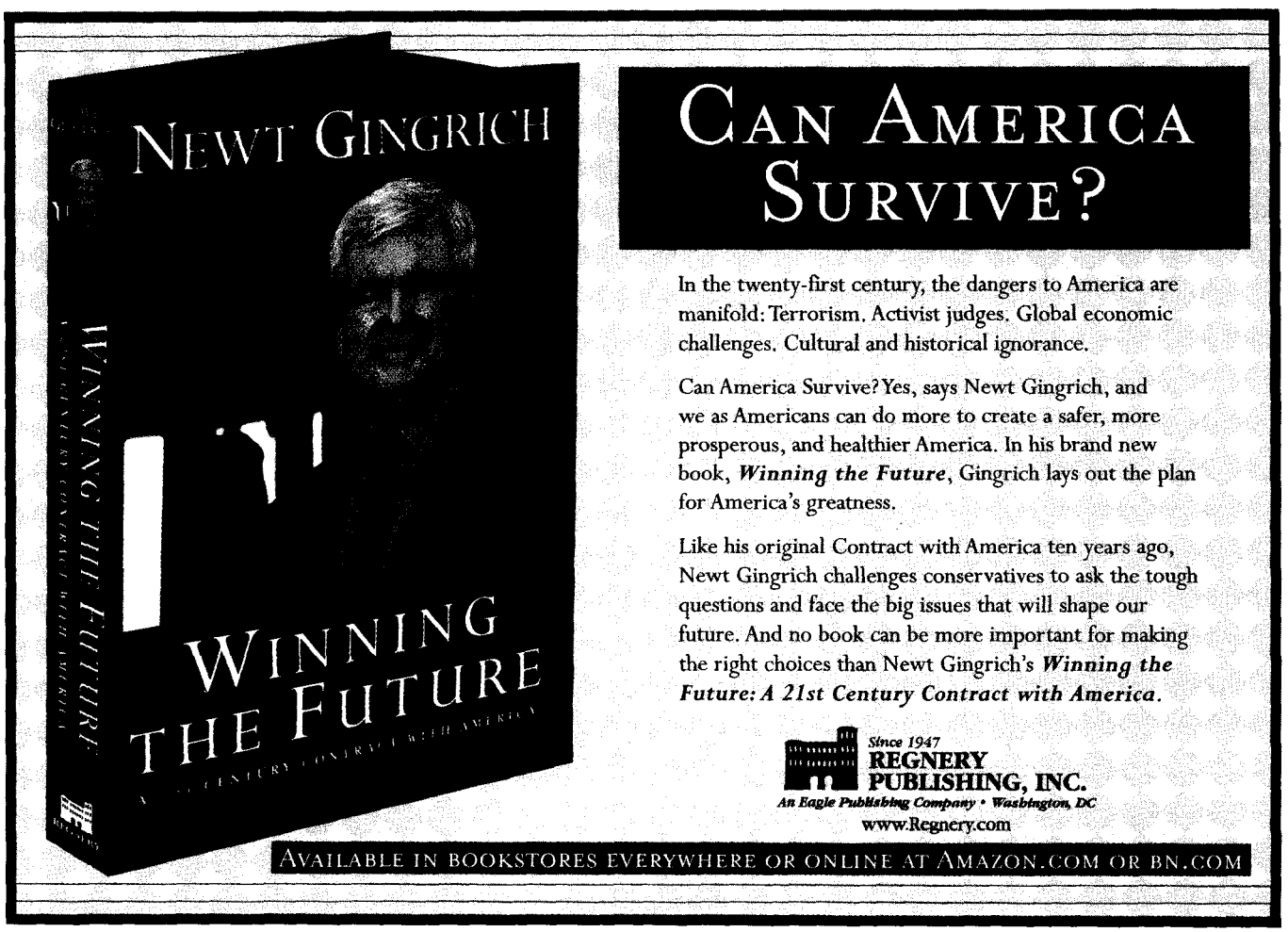
the new book; the reviews generally have been smugly dismissive. Among the many objections, perhaps the strangest is that Wolfe fails to capture faculty culture—when he set out to write the book specifically from the perspective of a college *student*. Charlotte Simmons is a sheltered and naïve, if intellectually ambitious, southern teenager—and is therefore the appropriate vehicle through which Wolfe can communicate the shocking resurgence of the luridities of the late Roman empire in today's American academe.

The book has also been reviled as juvenile voyeurism, with Wolfe himself labeled a Peeping Tom; and his characters have been derided as unconvincing caricatures. The book does dwell on sex, or at least on characters' thinking and talking about sex, and Wolfe is not one to spare us descriptive detail. The characters are indeed exaggerated, but that's to be expected in a satire. The problem with the criticisms is that they are themselves abstractions and caricatures. They work only so long as we leave out Wolfe's remarkably capacious power of description, his insatiable appetite for bringing the entire physical setting of every scene into his story—whether it's his depiction of the grandeur of the college's Gothic architecture, or Charlotte's first experience in a co-ed bathroom, or Dupont's president wondering about "the look" of one of his Sixties-throwback faculty members: "Look at him in his Lenin goatee, his shapeless, baggy, unpressed khaki pants and a grim grey sweater so tight it hugged every fold and flop of flab of his upper body . . . What is this look, this getup, supposed to represent? His aloofness from the Neckties and Dark Blue Suits (such as the President was wearing) who still run the world? His solidarity with rebelling youth (if any)? Or just a simple eternal adolescent bohemian poke in the eye?"

Sex is accorded the exact same level of importance in the book that it actually has in college life.

As for the novel's randiness, it must be noted that sex is accorded the exact same level of importance in the book that it actually has in college life. Wolfe accurately and hilariously captures, for example, the all-too-common dorm-life phenomenon of being "sexiled"—kicked out of one's room for hours, days, or weeks while a roommate "hooks up" with what David Brooks, in his more dispassionate study of student life, calls a "f**kbuddy." Moreover, Wolfe's sex scenes are intentionally and decidedly unerotic. Like the writing about sex in a *Seinfeld* episode, his descriptions are more humorous than titillating; it's the sheer energy and richness of the language, rather than the acts themselves, that draw our attention.

And Wolfe's characters are hardly flat. They exhibit complexity of motive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and action, not just in their surprising willingness to do things they hitherto thought impossible, but also in their experiences of guilt and self-loathing. Charlotte rather predictably feels remorse when she violates core precepts of the code she's inherited from her family, but a star basketball player surprises even himself with his sudden disgust at his own immersion in the sexual culture of his dumb-jock cronies.

Because of its focus on the college-freshman experience, this book lacks the sort of imposing adult characters prominent in Wolfe's earlier novels, *The Bonfire of the Vanities* and *A Man in Full*. There are no candidates here for "master of the universe." Perhaps that's one reason the satire, even when it takes aim at shrill campus politics, is gentler than that of the earlier books; indeed, the story ends on (mostly) light-comic notes that, while not quite restoring a sense of justice, at least provide the sense of fitting conclusions to the narrative's central dramas.

Aside from the question of how Charlotte will develop in the remainder of her college life, the central unresolved tension running through the book is philosophical. It has to do with the implications of contemporary neuroscience for our understanding of human nature, of what used to be called the soul and what is now called, in an attenuation of both metaphysics and language, the self. The dramatic significance of the soul surfaces with regularity here, as characters struggle with the question of whether they *have* souls and, if so, what this fact might mean. The two final chapters are titled "The Soul Without Quotation Marks" and "The Ghost in the Machine."

The philosophical implications of neuroscience are discussed explicitly in one of Charlotte's classes, taught by the Nobel prize-winning Mr. Starling, who asserts that the self is "nothing more than a 'transient composite of materials from the environment.'" Henceforth, self, mind, and soul *do* require quotation marks. As Starling asserts that neuroscience is turning philosophy and psychology upside down, Charlotte is "transported," feeling as if she were finally participating in the elevated life of the mind.

In this class, Charlotte does experience a kind of intellectual rapture. Exiting the lecture room, Charlotte views a campus flush with student activity. Amid "all this royal Middle English Gothic architecture," she opines to herself, there lives an "elite minifraction of the youth of America—of the youth of the world!" Most in this select group remain "blithely ignorant of the fact" that they are "merely conscious little rocks, every one of them, whereas . . . I am Charlotte Simmons." The irony of her self-canceling insight is lost on Charlotte; she does not see that according to this very theory, comprehension of which makes her exult, her self-knowledge dissolves into nothing more than yet another chemical reaction determined not by the "I" of Charlotte Simmons, but purely by her environment.

Of course no novel worth reading—indeed, no life worth living—could be predicated on the assumptions of neuroscience; a moment's reflection would convince the aspiring and precocious Charlotte of this. Wolfe the novelist of ideas does not take us very far down the road toward resolution of such thorny matters. What he does accomplish, brilliantly and entertainingly, is the precise portrait of an academic culture more interested in taut tummies and binge drinking than in genuine intellectual exploration. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Season of Hope

MICHAEL POTEMRA

Is there hope for the Mideast, now that Arafat has passed from the scene? To read the marvelous new book ***The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror*** (PublicAffairs, 303 pp., $26.95), by Natan Sharansky with Ron Dermer, is to be heartened about the opportunity for progress.

Sharansky, a survivor of the Gulag and a veteran human-rights crusader, argues that true peace cannot be built on what he calls a "fear society." Peace and freedom are finally inseparable, and until there is liberal reform within the Palestinian Authority there can be neither 1) a secure Israel nor 2) a viable Palestinian state.

And Sharansky demands both:

WINTER IN CALIFORNIA

The yard is growing reckless this December.
It's 80. Plants ignore the shorter days,
The trees forget that spring is months away
And suddenly you take my hand, a tender
Invitation. A kiss hides in the breeze
With its seductive message: *Bud and bloom,*
It's safe, come out, the frost will never come.
It whispers until even I believe.
Beware: This season isn't what it seems.
These foolish trees will loose their leaves to ice,
As sure as lovers go back to their wives.
The freezing wind will claim what was the sun's.
But how could we not risk our self-defeat
Or ignore such an unseasonable heat?

—CHRYSS YOST

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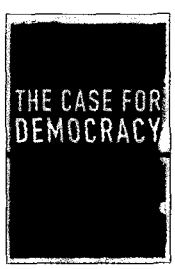
> The same human rights principles that once guided me in the Soviet Union remain the cornerstone of my approach to the peace process. I am willing to transfer territory [to the Palestinians] . . . because the principle of individual autonomy remains sacred to me—I do not want to rule another people. At the same time, I refuse to ignore the Palestinian Authority's violation of human rights because I remain convinced that a neighbor who tramples on the rights of its own people will eventually threaten the security of my people.

Sharansky makes a forceful case for the realism of the Bush administration's aggressive policy of promoting liberal societies in the Mideast. "The culture of death and violence that has engulfed Palestinian society can . . . change quickly," he writes, but only if the leaders of the world's democracies preserve their moral clarity in foreign policy.



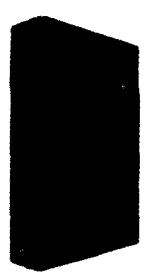
This would mean linking U.S. economic and diplomatic *support for* the Palestinian Authority to *reform within* the Palestinian body politic. Sharansky points out that on June 24, 2002, President Bush gave a speech that seemed to insist on this sort of linkage. That 2002 proposal, writes Sharansky, remains promising.

> The Palestinians are a relatively small, educated, and entrepreneurial population with decades of exposure to Israeli democracy. A peace process dedicated to strengthening them rather than their corrupt, unaccountable rulers would succeed much faster than people thought. After a few years in which a Palestinian administration—albeit one appointed by outsiders—worked to develop the Palestinians' civil society, economy, and democratic institutions, a fear society would gradually be replaced by a free society. The Palestinians would then be able to choose their leaders in free elections. By virtue of being dependent on the people they governed, those leaders would work to improve the lives of Palestinians, and as a result would have a vested interest in peace with Israel.

With such leaders, concludes Sharansky, "Israel could make peace."

To those inclined to be skeptical, one of Sharansky's prison anecdotes offers food for thought. One day, his Soviet jailers gave him a copy of *Pravda*. "Splashed across the front page was a condemnation of President Reagan for having the temerity to call the Soviet Union an 'evil empire.' Tapping on walls and talking through toilets, word of Reagan's 'provocation' quickly spread through the prison. The dissidents were ecstatic. Finally, the leader of the free world had spoken the truth." At the time, speaking those words of truth did not appear—to many in the West—to be a promising or even prudent strategy. But events proved that the prisoners' desire for freedom was more powerful than the will of their captors to keep them in bondage. The Bush administration's aggressive effort to promote liberalization in the Arab world—with Iraq the test case—may be, even today, the subject of eager tappings on West Bank walls, by Palestinians who dream of a future offering more than the street gunfire of masked thugs.

And those hopeful Palestinians should find encouragement in the fact that both President Bush and his new secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice, have recently been reading Sharansky's book. In the hands of the makers of U.S. foreign policy, the book can be a blueprint for measurable, positive change not just in the Palestinian Authority but in the Arab world as a whole. We at NR are especially gratified that our own associate editor, Rachel Friedman, who served as the book's researcher, is singled out in the acknowledgments as "a rare find," who "strengthen[ed]" the authors' arguments and "point[ed] them in directions they had not even considered." Well done, all around.



■ Berkeley professor Robert Alter is one of America's foremost literary scholars, and he has long displayed particular interest in works that have been canonical in the religious as well as the academic sense. His massive new work, ***The Five Books of Moses: A Translation with Commentary*** (Norton, 1,064 pp., $39.95), is the crowning achievement of his career so far: a rendition of the first five books of the Bible in a manner that combines a poet/critic's sensitivity to language with a rabbi's care for parsing out the text's religious meaning.

In his introduction, Alter writes that "the unacknowledged heresy underlying most modern English versions of the Bible is the use of translation as a vehicle for *explaining* the Bible instead of representing it in another language, and in the most egregious instances this amounts to explaining away the Bible." Accordingly, Alter's translation strives to render the idiomatic *voice* of the original, with its rhythms and repetitions—and manages to do so in a readable English. The sense comes through with clarity; in this regard, Alter must also be commended for his detailed and scholarly—yet amazingly user-friendly—commentary at the bottom of each page. This is a beautifully produced book, a work by a great scholar that will be a valuable resource for lay readers as well.

■ Stephen Moore, president of the Club for Growth, is one of the MVPs of free-market economics. Indefatigably buoyant in his intellectual commitment to capitalism, he keeps his eye on the long term—and that's what makes his new book, ***Bullish on Bush: How George W. Bush's Ownership Society Will Make America Stronger*** (Madison, 119 pp., $9.95), so helpful. The 2003 Bush tax cuts have had a powerful stimulus effect, sparking a very welcome turnaround in the economy. But they have also set the stage for more ambitious reforms that, Moore argues, could turbocharge the U.S. economy. Central among these is the reform of Social Security—not just to make the program solvent, but to transform it into a much more reliable wealth generator for America's retirees. The Bush proposal would "increase by tens of millions . . .

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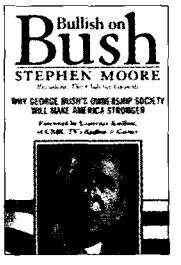
the ranks of the ownership society in the United States. Rather than 52 percent of Americans owning stocks and bonds, the Bush plan would rocket that share up to 80 or perhaps even 90 percent." In the next four years, contends Moore, President Bush could set in motion socio-economic changes more important than any since the New Deal.



■ It's no secret that the implosion of the *New York Times* under the vainglorious leadership of Howell Raines brought joy to many conservatives; for too long, the paper had gotten away with rampant left-wing agenda-mongering by hiding behind the gray respectability of past accomplishments, and it was long past time for its public image to be brought in line with reality. In ***Hard News: The Scandals at The New York Times and Their Meaning for American Media*** (Random House, 330 pp., $25.95), former *Newsweek* media writer Seth Mnookin provides a gripping behind-the-scenes account of how the high-handed Raines—who is compared by a key *Times* insider to the title character in *Dr. Strangelove*—and his team were done in by the "too good to check" antics of rogue reporter Jayson Blair.

■ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger is not just the Catholic Church's enforcer of theological orthodoxy; he is also one of Christianity's most valuable contemporary thinkers. In his new book, ***Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions*** (Ignatius, 284 pp., $15.95), he tackles the issue of the plurality of religions with intelligence and insight. "Today's man," he writes, is "inclined to recognize himself in the Buddhist parable of the blind men and the elephant": A king summoned all the blind men in his city to have them feel different parts of an elephant, and naturally the blind men disagreed about the nature of the creature they were touching—and eventually came to blows, as each contended that his own generalization from the part he was touching was the fundamental truth about the elephant. Is this not, modern man asserts, an apt metaphor for mankind in its religious quest?

No, says Ratzinger: "Someone who is born blind knows that he was not born to be blind . . . Man's resignation to the verdict that, when it comes to what is essential, that on which his life ultimately depends, he was born blind is merely apparent. . . . Man cannot come to terms with being born blind, and remaining blind, where essential things are concerned. The farewell to truth can never be final." The thirst for truth is innate, whether that truth makes itself available through the natural reason, or through divine revelation, or through both. All people have dignity in the eyes of God, and should be treated with respect, but not all truth claims are equal. "For Christian faith," Ratzinger writes, "the history of religions is not a circle of what is endlessly the same, never touching the essential thing, which itself ever remains outside of history; rather, the Christian holds the history of religions to be a genuine *history*, to be a path whose direction we call progress and whose attitude we call hope." Ratzinger's book is both erudite and accessible, a very helpful engagement with the religious thought of East and West.

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

The New Annotated Sherlock Holmes,
by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,
edited by Leslie S. Klinger
(Norton, 1,878 pp., $75)

UPON encountering these two large volumes, many Baker Street aficionados may ask: What was wrong with the *old* annotations by William S. Baring-Gould, published in 1967? The answer is elementary: Although the earlier version contained a wealth of fascinating information, the works were arranged in a bizarre chronological fashion—the order in which Baring-Gould surmised the stories and novels to have occurred in the life of the world's greatest fictional detective, rather than the order in which Arthur Conan Doyle actually wrote them. This handsome new edition of the short stories corrects that mistake and also takes advantage of more recent speculation on such vital questions as why Dr. Watson's wife, in "The Man with the Twisted Lip," refers to her husband as James rather than John. The most probable answer—that Doyle simply goofed—is quickly dismissed in a manner that frankly wouldn't impress Sherlock. Yet loving attention to such details is what Holmes devotees want, and Leslie S. Klinger capably delivers. He even plays along with a traditional conceit among faithful fans that Holmes and Watson were real people and Doyle their biographer. This will strike some as sweetly nerdy while others will find it merely cloying. When it comes to Holmes, either the game is afoot or it's not; for those who hunt, Klinger provides a fine companion.

—JOHN J. MILLER

■ Terry Teachout is the critic's critic, a promoter of excellence whose eye is sharp and whose enthusiasms are infectious. His new book, ***All in the Dances: A Brief Life of George Balanchine*** (Harcourt, 185 pp., $22), tells the story of the culture hero who transformed American ballet. Early in the book, Teachout describes his first encounter with Balanchine's choreography: "This was no dumb show, no mere pantomime, but sound made visible, written in the air like fireworks glittering in the night sky. . . . I asked myself, *Why hasn't anybody ever told me about this? And what kind of man made it?*" This book is excellent not just as an account of Balanchine's remarkable career—émigré establishes a high art form in his populist new homeland—but as an introduction to the world of ballet. "[Ballet does] what music does and words cannot. 'The thoughts which are expressed to me by music that I love,' Felix Mendelssohn once remarked, 'are not too indefinite to be put into words, but on the contrary, too *definite*.' So, too, with Balanchine, whose choreographic

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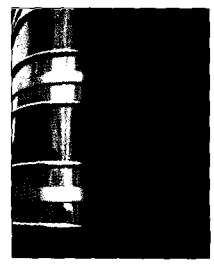
thoughts are extraordinary precisely because they cannot be translated into mere words." Teachout suggests that Balanchine may not have been the end of the line for classical ballet, but the originator of a new "lingua franca for ballet in the 21st century"—"the founding father who took the rudimentary steps of classical ballet and transformed them into a modern language capable of expressing feelings of the utmost subtlety and complexity."

■ In ***America's First Frogman: The Draper Kauffman Story*** (Naval Institute, 221 pp., $28.95), Elizabeth Kauffman Bush movingly recounts the remarkable life of the World War II underwater-demolition expert who became the father of the Navy SEALs. The author is the sister of the book's hero—and also the sister-in-law of President George H. W. Bush and aunt of President George W. Bush. In the foreword, George H. W. Bush says that "in telling us about her brother's life of service and dedication," the author "defines sacrifice and heroism"; the narrative more than lives up to that promise, accompanying the legendary bomb-disposal specialist to the Battle of Britain and the war in the Pacific.

■ There's something in the conservative spirit that disdains triumph, that refuses comfort in victories that might prove evanescent. In ***Lengthened Shadows: America and Its Institutions in the Twenty-First Century*** (Encounter, 266 pp., $17.95), edited by Roger Kimball and Hilton Kramer, we have a marvelous anthology explaining what's *still* wrong with America. The pieces were all written before the thumping conservative victory in this year's elections, but speak to enduring conditions that deserve the attention of thoughtful people. Robert Bork has an essay denouncing today's judiciary as a coterie of arrogant Olympians; Mark Steyn wittily describes the monstrous PC shenanigans that blight our schools; Frederick W. Kagan contends that Donald Rumsfeld's "vision of military transformation . . . is completely unbalanced [and] suffers from a wide variety of flaws"; Roger Kimball writes that "the corrosive imperatives of 'multiculturalism' and political correctness" are "institutionalizing our demise."

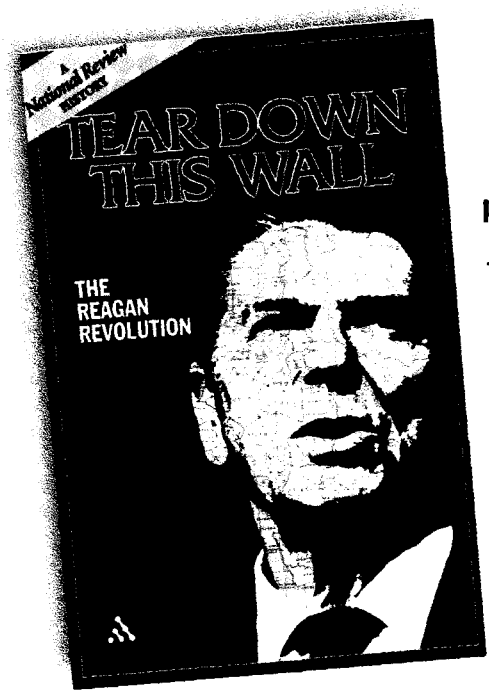
A welcome ray of optimism is emitted by NR managing editor Jay Nordlinger, who has an excellent and persuasive essay demonstrating that—despite frequent reports to the contrary—classical music is thriving in the U.S. Also impressive is David B. Hart's dissection of religion in today's America: With all its problems, it is nonetheless "alive and striving," which portends "something that might just survive the self-consuming culture of disenchantment."

■ In ***A Year at the Supreme Court*** (Duke, 243 pp., $21.95), edited by Neal Devins and Davison M. Douglas, distinguished contributors from across the political spectrum analyze key decisions of the Court's 2002-03 term. NR's own Ramesh Ponnuru provides a key essay arguing that the Court is not committed to restoring the Founders' federalism: "The great federalist case of the 2002 term was . . . *Lawrence* v. *Texas*. State laws against sodomy were dying off, as they should have been. But the Court was not willing to wait. Instead, it issued an expansive ruling [striking down sodomy laws] . . . Once again, the Court has taken sides in the culture wars"—instead of leaving the resolution of those struggles to the appropriate branches of government. He also argues that the Court refuses to see that state governments can threaten federalism just as Washington can.



■ Art Deco is one of the most distinctive styles America has ever made its own. In ***Art Deco New York*** (Watson Guptill, 214 pp., $40), cultural historian David Garrard Lowe offers a sumptuously illustrated tour of its highlights, from the Chrysler Building and Rockefeller Center to the New Yorker Hotel, at 34th Street and 8th Avenue, which "boasted that each of its 2,500 rooms had a radio." Lowe's text is fittingly evocative of a New York that, long past, leaves its mark on today's skyline. **NR**

NR on RR



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■ CITY DESK ■

Sick and Tired

RICHARD BROOKHISER

New Yorkers are adept at making what they care about happen. Therefore, every medically minded New Yorker got his flu shot, no matter how young, old, or feeble he was. The savvy New Yorker has, not one, but several good doctors; they all know his special needs (special because they are his); and one of them came up with some vaccine. This is one of the privileges, and the opportunities, of being a New Yorker. If getting a flu shot in a tight year is not a priority for you, then there are many fine communities in the republic.

But flu is not the only ailment that stalks the approaches to winter. Colds and weariness of all kinds lurk behind the holiday bustle, and the pole's tilt away from the sun. Perhaps your cold started with a marathon phone call, prolonged by flattery or nostalgia. After you hung up, you coughed, and coughed again. Or maybe it began when, still not used to the shortened days and the chill they bring, the head that had soaked up the noon sun at lunchtime felt, after work, uncomfortably hatless. Or possibly the onset came with that first weekend store-crawl, looking for Christmas gifts. Madison Avenue and West Broadway both go slightly uphill; the way down and the way up are not the same.

The hour of the cold and the hour of the wolf are the same: nighttime. Rest, you fondly think, will fend the approaching cold off, a good snooze will fix everything. But as soon as your head hits the pillow, your throat fills with snot. There is a Croton Reservoir of mucus in your head, feeding a tunnel that runs past your tonsils, and drains—where? Your lungs? Your stomach? Wherever it goes, it shouldn't. You pile up pillows, like a courtesan receiving her admirers or an old man dying, trying to modify the hydraulics. It does no good. Drip, drip, drip. The ease of oblivion becomes the torment of awareness. Extra bonus point: Your spouse hates you; you are as charming as a loud clock.

Your days become a long wrestle with Kleenexes. The number you can stuff in your pockets contends with the number you will need. How many times can you thriftily fold the used quarterings of one, before it becomes a disgusting, sodden deposit? Worse, though, are the sudden losses of energy. You made a foray, to have coffee or buy a newspaper. Then *bam*, you are picked off by the sniper of weariness. The paraphernalia of sickness is a clutter of bad things; exhaustion is the theft of good things.

You can't just burrow miserably in your apartment, however, because your cold itself demands that you seek help. This might mean a trip to the doctor. With the pooling of doctors into medical groups, their waiting rooms have become like small-city airport lounges at Thanksgiving. While the secretaries juggle phone calls and clipboards, you find a seat between a prattling child and a silent old invalid and learn, from back issues of *People* and *Sports Illustrated*, all about the Academy Awards and the World Series. Your doctor sends you to your pharmacist, if you still have one. The independent pharmacist, with his wooden floorboards and his snapshots of his family taped to his cash register, has hands-on opinions about your medicines that your doctor doesn't. Listen to them before he is swallowed up by Duane Reade and its fungible, underpaid Filipinos.

Colds and weariness of all kinds lurk behind the holiday bustle, and the pole's tilt away from the sun.

Sometimes you will drag yourself to a health-food store for echinacea. Health food isn't all quackery; herbal medicines have been scientifically tested in Europe, especially in Germany. But to find the right ones you will have to fight your way past the bags of trail mix and the stinking, uncovered organic food. Probably the best thing you can give yourself is soup. That means wonton soup at a decent Chinese place, or matzoh-ball soup at the Second Avenue Deli. You spoon it down with the broken spirits of a displaced person, chasing it with tea or cream soda.

The cold that hits in the holiday season, during the mad sprint from the post-Thanksgiving flight home to New Year's, robs you of human society: of the lunches with old (fading?) friends that you finally do schedule, and of the parties that are precious to you because you belong there. Glasses of beer if they're at an Irish bar, glasses of red wine if they're at an Italian restaurant; loud easy conversations; flirtation rising to camaraderie; all the people you see from Monday to Friday, released from the functionality of ordering and performing. These are the sweeteners of our working life; what a shame to miss them.

But a cold can work a subtler change, corrupting the ordinary as well as the special. Immobilized, we view mobility itself through a screen window of estrangement. Why do we get up and go to a desk, make phone calls, plan plans, put one word after another? Our dreams and our routines appear like the activities of hunter-gatherers in a *National Geographic* special. We feel bones in our noses, plates in our lips; the breasts of women are naked, sagging; the stock market and the Amazon book rankings become fetishes that we feed sugar-cane liquor. Illness alienates; it is like travel without culture, food, or surprise. You do have jet lag, though, and angry bowels.

Then, one day, as you drag yourself to the sofa or the kitchen table, you notice a spring in your step. For the first time (seemingly ever) you want to brush your teeth. You don't read every single story in the *New York Times*, and the stories you read interest you. You can lay your head flat; you don't especially want to lay it down at all.

You're well, and the cold, and the sense memory of it, vanishes. You know that you were sick, and that you might be again. But who could imagine such a thing? NR

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Dumb Bright Guys

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 19

WHEN Robert Bork was a professor at the Yale Law School he had a call from the young editor of the *Yale Daily News*, who was in a tizzy. The paper was going to press with its findings on the faculty vote in the upcoming election, President Lyndon Johnson vs. Senator Barry Goldwater. The editor explained that the paper was kind of embarrassed: As things stood, the next day's edition would reveal that only a single member of the Yale faculty (of approximately 1,000) was going to vote for Barry Goldwater on Tuesday.

"Who is that?" Professor Bork asked.

"Some loony in the international relations department," the editor said. "We know you have right-wing leanings, Mr. Bork. Is there any chance we could give your name as supporting Goldwater? Otherwise it would be pretty unbalanced."

Bork shrugged and said, Okay, count me in. When the paper appeared, he had a call from the one other Goldwater supporter: Would Bork lunch with him? "I did," Bork tells, smiling. "The kid was right. He was loony."

Forty years later, the *New York Times* has published a revealing article by reporter John Tierney titled, "Republicans Outnumbered in Academia, Studies Find." We are told that the political imbalance among U.S. faculty is as pronounced as ever. "At the birthplace of the free speech movement, campus radicals have a new target: the faculty that came of age in the 60s. They say their professors have been preaching multiculturalism and diversity while creating a political monoculture on campus."

Several studies are cited. One of them, a national survey of more than 1,000 academics, shows that Democratic professors outnumber Republicans by at least seven to one in the humanities and social sciences. "That ratio," we are told, "is more than twice as lopsided as it was three decades ago, and it seems quite likely to keep increasing, because the younger faculty members are more consistently Democratic than the ones nearing retirement." As the shrewd observer of the scene David Horowitz points out, "Right now, conservative students are discouraged from pursuing scholarly careers, because they see very clearly that their professors consider Republicans to be the enemy."

Another faculty study found a nine-to-one ratio of Democrats to Republicans on the faculties of Berkeley and Stanford. That study included the hard sciences and engineering (where good sense is reputed to prevail).

The imbalance continues, and doesn't much bother anybody except, perhaps, students left to ponder the asymmetries. Learning brings wisdom, right? Waal, not on this campus.

It was thataway at Yale 15 years before Goldwater ran for president, and a book remarking the phenomenon was hooted out of town (though its author lived on to write this column). Four years after Goldwater, a poll at Princeton registered that 70 percent of the faculty had voted for Humphrey, 7 percent for Richard Nixon, and 7 percent for Dick Gregory, the black comedian. Postgraduate humor.

And these aren't just wispy afterthoughts of a staid community that, one wild day, dived into the swimming pool with their clothes on. No no, these are earnest fellows. For the first time last year, universities were "at the top of the list of organizations ranked by their employees' contributions to a presidential candidate," according to the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics. In first and second place in per capita contributions were: 1) the University of California system, and 2) Harvard (runners-up were Time Warner and Goldman Sachs).

When the jury found O.J. Simpson not guilty of killing his wife and her companion, the American people reacted along racial lines. Seventy percent of whites thought him guilty, 70 percent of blacks thought him not guilty. What everyone could see was an epistemological divide.

That divide is there in the academic world. The people who elected the government of the United States see things differently from those who trained them in how to weigh public issues. "Our colleges have become less marketplaces of ideas than churches in which you have to be a true believer to get a seat in the pews," writes Stephen H. Balch, president of the National Association of Scholars. On the other hand, those who get only standing room in the academies, get also the White House, the House of Representatives, and the Senate.

Just Say No

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 26

THERE is reason, every now and then, to be grateful for the development of women's power. Sometimes it is exerted zanily (Why are Boy Scouts more celebrated than Girl Scouts?). But they are mobilizing fast on one of the great national idiocies, which is the government's airport security practices designed to protect us against another 9/11.

Maureen Dowd of the *New York Times* is easily annoyed, but here she put the case cogently in a single paragraph: "First you have to strip, unzipping your boots, unbuckling your belt, and unbuttoning your suit jacket while any guys standing around watch. Then you have to walk around in some flimsy top and stocking or bare feet. Then you have to assume the spread-eagled position. Then a beefy female security agent runs her hands all the way around your breasts, in between, underneath—again with guys standing around staring."

Dowd cites the singer and actress Patti LuPone, who at Fort Lauderdale Airport declined just offhandedly to take off her shirt—and was barred from her flight. There was the 71-year-old, Jenepher Field, who walks with the aid of a cane. Ms. Field was subjected to a breast pat-down at the airport in Kansas City.

Nobody can reasonably doubt the special fragility of air travel in the age of terrorism. But the question that arises is: Can we apply intelligence to the problem, or are we estopped from doing so by

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racial and ethnic protocols?

The objective has to be to reduce reasonably the number of people who are searched, and perhaps the scope of the search. Our computer banks are surely up to the challenge of coming up with a scale from 0 to 100 on the likelihood that a particular traveler is mischievous? Already, our system is disposed to make certain negative inferences. If you buy a one-way ticket, you are suspicious, on the assumption that the reason you didn't buy the round-trip ticket is that you might as well save the money, since you intend to destroy the airliner on the first leg.

But if we are accumulating negative inferences, why not list the name "Mohammed" among them?

Answer: Because this would be resented by the 99.99 percent of Mohammeds who have no desire to engage in terrorism.

But the question here becomes, surely, Why not go ahead and offend the Mohammeds?—for reasons absolutely unmotivated by religious or ethnic animus.

And the positive inferences: Can we reasonably assume that a passenger who is over 50 years old edges up in the direction of unlikelihood as a saboteur? The point is not dismissed by simply finding some 75-year-old who once tried to blow up an airplane. We are talking about likelihood.

If the passenger has a clean police record, a family, a job, retirement savings—add these up, one at a time, as the needle on the dial inches asymptotically towards 0 likelihood, and you have accomplished something which translates into fewer strip searches for women—or, for that matter, men. One passenger searched in the Midwest a few months ago turns out to have been the same man who ran for president on the Democratic ticket in 2000. Al Gore was a very good sport about it. An inspiriting contrast was the late Warren Burger, who flatly refused to travel on any airline that insisted on probing his crotch. His point was that as former chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States he should not be treated as a possible terrorist, never mind what some people have said about Earl Warren.

But progress of any kind here requires the application of intelligence, and this is what the feds are afraid to engage in.

Exit Danforth—Enter Danforthism?

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 3

PLOP in the middle of the entangled, entangling, impossible mess of the United Nations, where Kofi Annan's ego attempts achingly to overswell diurnal scandals, enters John C. Danforth. This resolute human being, who only four months ago became U.S. ambassador to the U.N., announced that he was quitting. Why? And why at this time? Because, he said, he needs to spend more time with his wife, Sally. "Forty-seven years ago," Mr. Danforth wrote to the president, "I married the girl of my dreams, and, at this point in my life, what is most important to me is to spend more time with her. Because you know Sally, you know my reason for going home."

Well, if we knew Sally like John knows Sally, we'd perhaps ignore other considerations before the house. But we don't, and are therefore driven to pause over other matters that might have entered the mind of Danforth when he decided to pull out.

Pause, first, for an aerial view of the scene: The secretary general is pretty universally discredited by a money scandal which some estimate as perhaps the largest in human history. It is a scandal that has so immobilized normal respiratory practices that Paul Volcker himself, the most direct and fearless public official in recent history, is tongue-tied. He appears to be hiding behind remote technicalities in order to serve the U.N., whose secretariat is of course the agent of Kofi Annan, who is the primary defendant in the whole mess.

There are no less than five congressional committees living on the tether's end of patience for failure to get cooperation from the U.N. on a matter of far-reaching concern. Is it possible that some of the $20 billion routed and rerouted from the sale of Iraqi oil, ostensibly collected to buy bread for starving Iraqis, has ended up by financing the insurgents who kill U.S. Marines every day?

But the framework is even wider, as the files on Senator Danforth reveal. *New York Times* correspondent Warren Hoge advises that it was the day after he wrote his private letter of resignation that Danforth publicly criticized the U.N. "in an unusually brash denunciation of a move in the General Assembly to cut off a motion that would have criticized human rights violations in Sudan, which the United States has called genocide."

Danforth declaimed, "One wonders about the utility of the General Assembly on days like this. One wonders, if there can't be a clear and direct statement on matters of basic principle, why have this building? What is it all about?"

The question of legitimacy dogs the U.N. For years it has been so, living lopsidedly on the arbitrary allocations of membership in the Security Council done in San Francisco in 1945. But these distortions, and others—notably the victimization of Israel, and the coddling of Castro-Cuba—diminished in strategic consequence because the Cold War swept away everything in its path, generating among other things the undenied and undeniable legitimacy of U.S. leadership of the free world.

That has changed. Europe's security from Soviet imperialism has led to the delegitimization of the U.S. as inherent and singular leader in policy making on international problems. That is the reason for Europe's refusal to back our venture in Iraq. It isn't that Germany and France objected to troops in Iraq. They objected to their being dispatched there other than by an organization, the U.N., in which France exercised a veto power.

The survival, in its present shape, of a U.N. pockmarked by the 1945 charter may not be in question: Nobody's about to rescind the U.N. But its prestige is at rock-bottom low. Its hypocrisy was sensed and articulated by John Danforth, and its bureaucratic self-interest is reinforced by Annan's refusal to resign. It is a true mess, and whatever our concern for Sally, the world joins in asking, with John Danforth, "What is it all about?"

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

"You're micro-managing again."

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

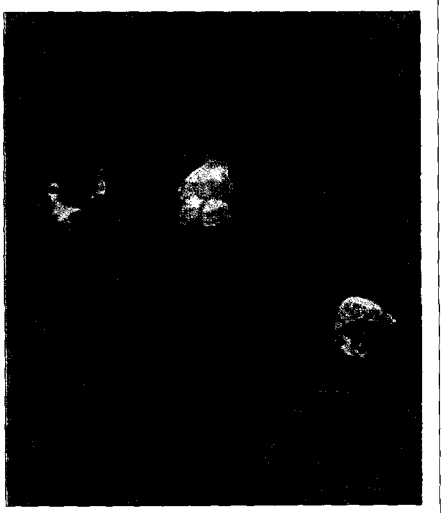
The Death of Intelligence

Be honest. Do you think this intel "reform" bill will reform intel in any meaningful way—i.e., by reforming what's the near 100 percent failure rate of recent years down to, oh, 93, maybe 86 percent?

I don't, and I don't know anyone from the sharper end of the "intelligence community" who does, either. But who cares? The Democrats are in favor of it, because reshuffling the bureaucracy is their preferred way of demonstrating that they're not soft on national security. And that means the media are in favor of it, and so, as we're constantly told, are "the 9/11 families," as if it's some kind of national-security Megan's Law on which they have an inviolable proprietorial claim.

I don't think U.S. intelligence can be reformed in any meaningful way without abolishing the principal agencies and creating entirely new structures with none of the baggage. Like their fellow intelligence operative, Austin Powers, in *The Spy Who Shagged Me*, the CIA seems to have lost its mojo, and nothing proposed by Tom Kean and the other showboaters is likely to help get it back. And, in fairness to the Dems, the CIA's present incarnation as a seething swamp of obstructionist desk-jockeys is far more useful to them than the old cloak-and-dagger types ever were. Consider, for example, how many of Bush's election-year difficulties derived, one way or another, from Langley—WMD, lack thereof; uranium from Niger, Iraqi acquisition thereof; Joseph C. Wilson IV, absurd media overinflation thereof; Valerie Plame, likewise thereof; August 6th 2001 Presidential Daily Brief, Bush's irresponsible ignoring thereof. Take the CIA-derived material out of the Democratic Bush-bashing of the last two years and there wouldn't be a lot left. The old Left were paranoid about the CIA. The new Left have cheerfully let the CIA make them paranoid about the president. They've finally found a CIA they can love.

On NPR the other day, a member of the intelligence community was recycling for the umpteenth time the line that the Islamist terrorist groups were simply too tightly-knit to penetrate: They're motivated by ideology, so you can't bribe them, and you can't infiltrate them because they're all cousins from the same tribe. That is, as they say in England, bollocks on stilts. For over a decade, anyone could sign up with Osama: Throughout the Nineties, tens of thousands of young men graduated from his Afghan terrorist training camps, and hardly any were Afghans, never mind cousins. They were



A question of mojo

Algerian and Sudanese, Chechen and Indonesian. Quite a few were British and French. Some were of Arab Muslim background, but others were converts. You didn't have to be called Ahmed or Bashir. "Richard Reid" would do nicely. So would "John Walker Lindh." Young Mr. Lindh was such a mountain of Marin County clichés you'd think the savvier Talibs would have instantly assumed he was a CIA plant, but no, he simply strolled over the border from his Pakistani madrassa and within 24 hours was sharing the executive latrine with the A-list cave dwellers. Young men from London and Marseilles and Toronto make the same pilgrimage to the Hindu Kush, year after year after year. But Americans are expected to be content with the assurance that the Islamist terror structure is impenetrable.

Some weeks before 9/11, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Reuel Marc Gerecht quoted a young CIA man explaining the problem: "Operations that include diarrhea as a way of life don't happen." Not when there's a nice air-conditioned office in Virginia where you can monitor e-mails by satellite all day long. How ya gonna keep 'em out in the field after they've seen Langlee? As was made plain soon after Gerecht's article appeared, for the next few years much of the intelligence action will be in Diarrhea Central.

In their defense, the "intelligence community" say, well, the British and French missed most of this stuff, too. But the difference is they got things wrong for a lot less money. The famous Presidential Daily Brief of August 6th 2001 that Bush is supposed to have acted on gives the game away. The most lavishly funded intelligence agency in the Western world led off its analysis with a piece of "classified" "intelligence" summarizing four-year-old TV interviews bin Laden had given, followed by a couple of tidbits from foreign intelligence agencies, one lone piece of CIA-generated "intelligence" which turned out to be wrong, and a bland assurance that the FBI was conducting 70 bin Laden-related "full field investigations," which also proved to be false. Old TV shows, tips from MI6 and the Egyptians, and an inability even to find out what other federal agencies are doing: In terms of value to the U.S. taxpayer, the ethanol subsidy's a better deal.

Even if you accept that the neutered CIA of the last 30 years are perforce desk-bound bureaucrats, they could at least be better at it. If they're going to sit around the office all decade, maybe an analyst or two could have spotted some of the long-term trends—the Wahhabi funding of radical madrassas in Yemen, Pakistan, the Balkans, and, gosh, Virginia, too. No diarrhea involved there. But no: The Central Intelligence Agency grew so centralized it had no room for the intelligence. Meet the new secret agent, licensed to kill time. September 11th revealed something extraordinary: In the most powerful nation on earth, the culture of intelligence has simply died. **NR**

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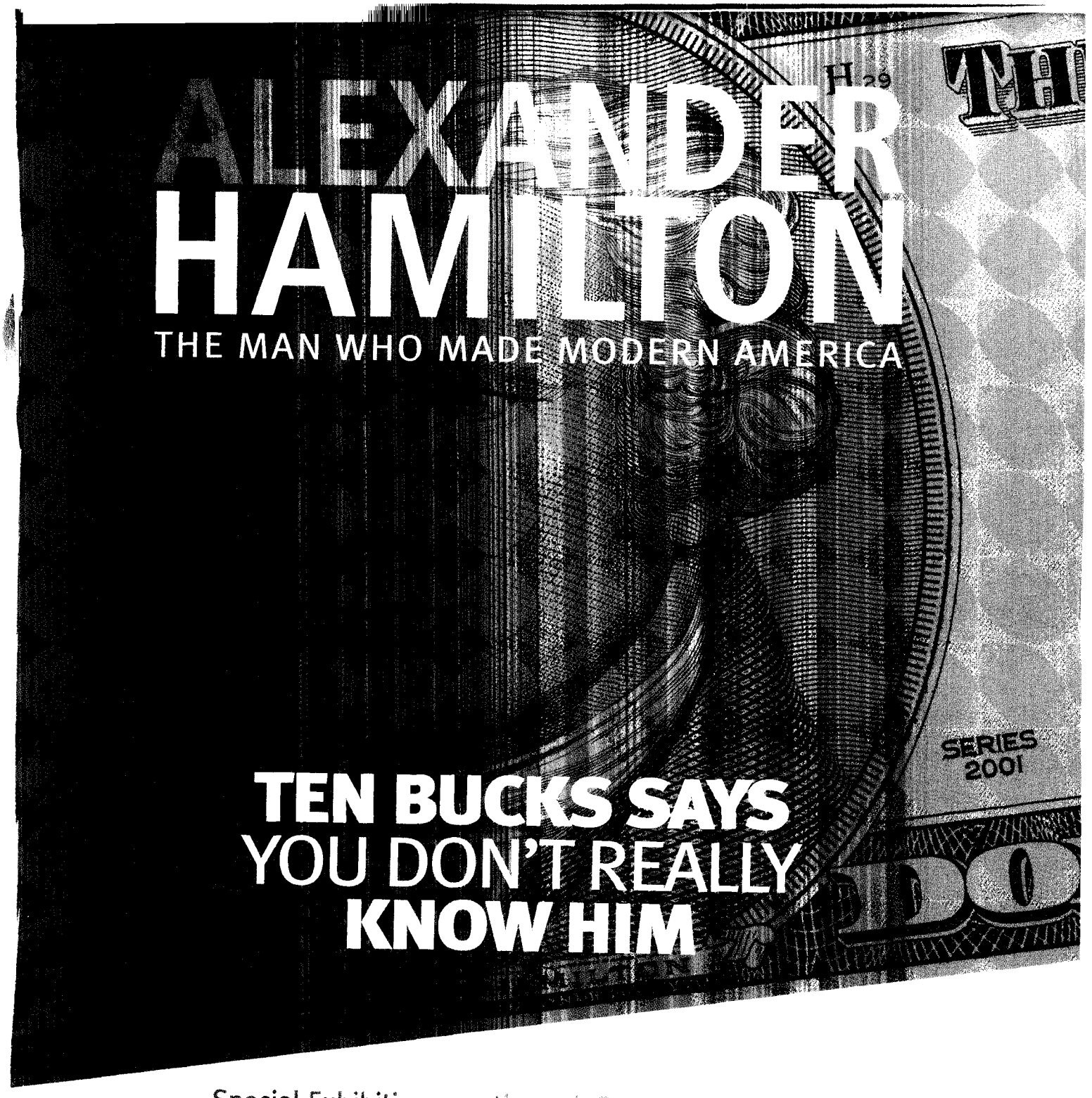

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